

Small, James

AN APOLOGY

FOR THE

True CHURCH of Scotland;

BEING

A Short REPLY to a Book published by J. W.
(of late Presbyterian Preacher at Brechin,
but now at Dundee) called, *An Apology for
the Church of Scotland, against the
Accusations of PRELATISTS and JA-
COBITES; and particularly the Reflections
of J. S. late Incumbent at Forfar.*

Whereby the hainous and unchurching Crime of
Schism is farther fixed upon the Presbyterian Par-
ty in Scotland, and the ancient and Apostolick
Government of the CHURCH by Bishops
is farther confirmed.

By J. S. Author of the Answer to the Parochial Bishop's Letter.

Job XL. 2, 3. Should not the Multitude of Words be answer-
ed? and should a Man full of Talk be justified?

Psal. CXL. 3. They have sharpened their Tongues like a Ser-
pent; adders Poison is under their Lips.

Psal. X. 6. He hath said in his Heart, I shall never be mov-
ed: for I shall never be in Adversity, &c.

August. Epist. 166. ad Donatistas. Odistis quia pacem vobis catholicam
predicamus.

Idem enarrat. in Psalm. 16. Ponite ergo vobis ante oculos fratres unitatem
tunc orbis terrarum unde se isti diviserunt.

Idem de Verb. Domini in Evangelium secund. Joann. 49. Cap. 10. Ipsi
per alteram partem ascendunt, non per Christum intrant.

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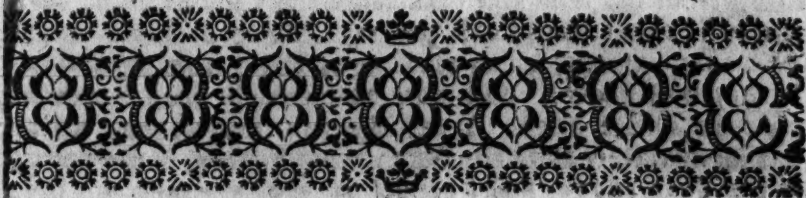


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A POLOGY for the true Church of SCOTLAND.

To all the true Sons of the CHURCH, but especially to the Magistrates and Town-Council of the Burgh of Forfar, my very good Patrons, unto whom I dedicate the following Sheets.



IT being my Design in the following Pages, not only to vindicate the Truth and establish the Government of the Catholick Church (not that of the Pseudocatholick Church of Rome, as my Adversary pretends, (which I look upon as the most corrupt of all Churches) but that of the Catholick Church of GOD in all Ages both *Jewish* and Christian.) It be-

ing my Design, I say, in the following Pages, not only to establish that which hath always been the Government of the Catholick Church, but also to vindicate the Authority of the present Episcopal Church of *Scotland*, from the false Pretences and Claim of the usurping and schismatick *Presbyterian* Party, it is fit that I should call all the true Sons of

the Church to the reading and considering of them: And it being also my Design to say something for my own Vindication, from the false and most malicious Calumnies of *J. W.* it was fit that I should call you my People of *Forfar* as my Witnesses, among whom my Conversation from my Infancy is very well known, and more particularly since I entered upon the Office of the sacred Ministry among you, which was immediately after the Death of my Father, in the Spring of the Year 1687; and I appeal to you whether you have ever known me for a Railer or a Calumniator of my Neighbours. GOD knows that railing is a Thing which I do read of very much hate, and it is very grievous to me to be a Witness of it in others; and therefore although *J. W.* hath in his Pamphlet given me good Store of it, yet I have carefully shunned to retaliate and pay him in his own Coin. 'Tis true, while I am writing against wicked *Schismatics*, which have so ample a Profession of Religion, but in the mean Time stick at nothing that may appear to promote the Interests of their Party, violating and trampling under foot all the most sacred Bonds of Equity and Justice (as I have shewed in my last Pamphlet) it was necessary that I should in some Measure set them forth in their proper Colours. But, as I was not the Aggressor, but did even that in Self-Defence, being in a Manner constrained unto it by *J. W.* in his Pamphlet, so I have forborn as much as I could from accusing any particular Persons: Whereas *J. W.* hath taken a great deal of Pains, not only to accuse my Brethren in general, but to set forth me in particular as a Man guilty of the most hateful Crimes, and a Person of no Conscience or Fear of GOD. But as it is a small Matter for me to be judged of such Men as he is, and as it were very easy for me to vindicate my self from all his Aspersions, if my Circumstances with respect to the Civil Government were as good as his are; so I shall not recriminate, but leave him to the Judgment of GOD, appealing to his Sovereign Tribunal who knows the Sincerity and Uprightness of my Heart, with respect to all those Things whereof he doth accuse me. And so I proceed to the Consideration of his Pamphlet; and because he still speaketh to me in the second Person, I shall in my Reply follow his Example in that Particular, and address myself to him also.

And now while I am entering upon this Theme, Sir, I shall not complain, as you do, of being incumbered with a Multiplicity of Business, seeing your Presbytery hath given me

And it Bill of Ease (how justly I leave to GOD the sovereign
 and just Judge of the World to discern:) But I must say that
 if *J. W.* have as little Heart to litigious Debates, yea and I think I
 as may say much less, than you have, seeing you was the
 aggressor, and thereby made it necessary for me to stand
 entered for the Defence, both of the Church, and my self, whom
 which you did most groundlessly calumniate, and upon whom you
 Springed most scurrilously rail, for teaching that Doctrine which
 you have the most Orthodox Doctors of the Christian Church
 Neigh-even Presbyterians not excepted) have taught before me;
 do veed so for you to say that you incline not for litigious writ-
 a Writing, and that you dare not rail, is plainly *protestatio contra*
factum, seeing you are eminently guilty of both.

careful. I do not incline so far to disparage your Writings (as you
 do mine,) by saying that they are the weakest of that Kind
 which I have seen: For howsoever they are not free from
 the meaner considerable Blunders (as I have formerly shewed) yet I
 the Intenoness that your *Parochial Bishop's Letter* doth contain a suf-
 foot allient Collection of all that's commonly said by the Writers
 I have your Party upon that Head, and that pretty well digest-
 should into Order and Method. And I believe that your *Apo-*
logy. Buggy, which I am now going to consider, says as much for
 Self-Dene Vindication of your Party as the Subject will bear. But
 if *J. W.* hithere is no solid Argument can be framed against the
 m acculruth, and I am as ready as you are to say, that, *Great is the*
taken Truth, and will certainly prevail against all its Opposers,
 en in gemong whom I think I may justly reckon you and all those
 guilty of your Party, from which Imputation I hope to de-
 science monstrate that this *Apology* doth not vindicate either you or
 ne to them.

sy for me. And here, before I proceed to the Consideration of those
 Circumstree Heads whereof your *Apology* doth consist, it is fit I
 e as good should observe, That although you do provoke us to stand
 m to the Decision of the Holy Scriptures as the only judge in
 Tribunal the Controversy before us, and tho you accuse us of declin-
 art, writing their Judgment (which is a very gross Calumny) yet
 ne. And you do not attempt to refute the Confirmation (which I
 gave in my last Pamphlet) even of my Arguments from
 I shall in Scripture, neither of these drawn from Reason illuminated
 and ad by the Light of GOD's Word; so that your *Apology* must
 needs be very imperfect at the best. You accuse us of being
 ir, I shall unwilling to come to the Light of GOD's Word, because
 h a Mul (as you fondly alledge) it doth always fail us. But herein
 given me (after your ordinary Manner) you accuse us falsely, for we
 are

are very ready to acknowledge that important Principle It may
 Christian Verity, *That all Things, which are necessary either* dy of C
ur Mot
be believed or practised, are plainly contained in the holy Scrip
tures. But then we think that the best Way to understand
 the true Sense of the Holy Scriptures, when it is controverted
 ed, is by consulting the Fathers of the first Ages, and chief
 ly in those Things which were of continual Practice in this very
 Church, wherein they could not possibly be mistaken, espec
 ally seeing they had the extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Gho
 continued with them for several Ages. It is true, where
 can find one Place of Scripture clearly to explain another, parate
 as it cannot reasonably be controverted, this is indeed *time*, be
 best Mean of understanding the Sense of the dark Place (han : A
 cause we are sure that one Place cannot contradict another Voice
 But where that is wanting, the only best Way to decide the Chu
 Controversy is to appeal to the Fathers of the Primitive cut the
 Church, and in those Things wherein they do all agree, church,
 Testimony appears to be more than humane. And tru Now y
 there can be nothing more unreasonable, than for eve ollick C
 fanatick Spirit to presume to set up his own novel Opie
 ons, and to alledge for them Scripture glossed by himse
 contrary to the unanimous Sense of the first Ages of tans can
 Church, and much more to all Ages downward from the one L
 Beginning, as you do. Heve in

Those Things being premised, I come to consider whether
 you say upon those three Heads upon which your *Apology* Chan
 doth proceed, wherein I shall not trace you in every Thing in th
 which you say (lest I should swell this Pamphlet to too great a Bulk,
 and make it tedious to my Readers) but I shall on
 consider those Things which are most material, and upon
 which you seem to lay the greatest Stress for the Vindication
 tion of your Party. And first as to your Head of *Schism*, *Schism*
 I shall not meddle with your Divisions of *Schism*, which you
 might well have spared, seeing it is only the last Member
 that we are concerned with in this Controversy. But your
 Description of it is too narrow; for it is not only a Separation
 by abstaining from the Communion of the Church, but the
 forming of a Party against her, and the setting up Altar
 against Altar (as the Ancients express it) which is common
 ly understood by *Schism*, and which is the horrid and un
 churching Crime which we impute to you and your Party
 and from which you will never be able to vindicate either
 your self or them. This is a true renting of the mystic
But y
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body of Christ, and a cruel tearing out the very Bowels of
 our Mother, which you confess to be so great a Crime.
 I may perhaps be sometimes necessary for weak and well
 meaning Persons to abstain from the Communion even of a
Scripture Church, when they stumble at some things which they
 stand to be unlawful in it, but they can never set up ano-
 ther Church against her, without being guilty of that most
 heinous Crime of which I have been speaking. And the Rea-
 son is very plain, because the true Church carries in her
 the special Authority of Jesus Christ, and therefore whosoever sets
 up a Church against her, rebels not only against her, but against
 Christ himself. It was indeed necessary for us, not only to
 separate from, but also to set up against the Church of
 Rome, because she was become idolatrous and Antichri-
 stian: And herein we did no more but our Duty in obeying
 the Voice of GOD, *Rev. 18. 4.* But to set up against a
 true Church is plainly to set up against Christ himself, and
 to cut themselves off from the Communion of the Catholick
 Church, which is one, *Eph. 4. 4.*
 Now you tell us that *Schism* may be either from the Ca-
 tholick Church, or from that particular Church where
 Persons have their Abode. As for *Schism* from the Catho-
 lick Church, you say you cannot see how the *Scots* Presby-
 terians can be charged with it, so long as with them they pro-
 fess one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, and Love to all them that
 believe in the Lord Jesus. But it is one Thing to profess, and
 another Thing to do; and it is in vain for any Persons to pro-
 fess Charity, while they do not keep the Unity of the Spi-
 rit in the Bond of Peace. I told you before, that if you
 (with any Measure of Impartiality) read the Reve-
 rend and Learned Mr. *Sage's* Letter to Mr. *Meldrum* upon
Schism, you would have seen it sufficiently proved that you
 are *Schismaticks* from the Catholick Church, because you
 have cast off the Authority of Bishops, which was always
 deemed the Principle of Unity in her. And it is plain
 that whosoever refuseth Communion with any particular
 Church, upon the Account of any Catholick Doctrine or
 Practice, refuseth Communion with the Catholick Church
 but this
 But you tell us, That if by the Catholick Church we un-
 derstand the Church of Rome, you are of Gerard's Mind that
 it is a good and blessed Schism. Unto which I answer, that
 it is a groundless and malicious *if*, for whatsoever
 may be your politick Clamours against Popery, now when
 you
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you find you may make a Handle of them for the Interest of your Party; yet that it is not Popery, but the Ruin of the Episcopal Church, and the setting up of your own *Dagon* which you have at Heart, may be very plain to any Person who will impartially consider your Behaviour since the Beginning of the Reigh of the late King *James* (of which I will have Occasion to say something more particularly in answering to the End of this Paragraph:) And we see (as I shewed in my last Pamphlet) that you are still content to make Concessions to Popery, providing you may thereby reach a Blow at Episcopacy. And it is plain that since the late Revolution you have manifested more of your Spite and Malice against us, than you have done against Popery and all the other Sects of Religion together.

In the Next Place you say, the reforming Bishops of *England* owned this Church, &c. *Ans.* Yes I confess they owned the Church of *Scotland* at that Time for a Sister Church, and there was very good Reason why they should have done so, for it was a true reformed Church which had not set up against Episcopacy, nor made any *Schism* upon that Account; but if they had been living now, to see the Principles and Practices of our present Presbyterians, they would have both disowned and abhorred them.

But you say, *Our Jacobite Clergy are a very strange Sort of Protestants, who openly join with a Popish Pretender against a Protestant King, and take the most effectual Ways to destroy the Protestant Religion, &c.* Where the Reader may see how you pelt us with hard Names, that you may thereby render us odious to the Government. But if by *Jacobite Clergy*, you mean the Episcopal Clergy (as certainly you do) it is very strange how you or your Party should have the Forehead to accuse us as Favourers of Popery, seeing it is well known that we have given the plainest Demonstrations of our contrary Inclinations, as well as of our Stedfastness in adhering to the true Interests of the Protestant Religion, in the most dangerous Time, in the Reign of the late King *James*, whereas your Party turned their Back upon them and joined Issue with the Papists: For no sooner did the Designs of the Court begin to appear for setting up of Popery, but the Episcopal Ministers began seriously to bestir themselves, and oppose them with all their Might. The Pulpits throughout the Country did almost every where sound forth Sermons against Popery, and even in *Edinburgh* they were not silent, notwithstanding that several Ministers

had

had been persecuted by the Chancellor (who was then become a very bigot Papist) upon that Account. But all that Time there was a deep Silence among the Presbyterians, only one honest Man called Dr. *Hardy* spoke something once, but was immediately silenc'd by his Brethren; and beside him there was not one Man of those who called themselves the sober Presbyterians that spoke one Word. There was no Clamour then against *Papery*, when it was rampant (because it was not the Interest of the Party:) Upon the contrary, there was nothing found amongst them but flattering Addresses to the King, homologating that arbitrary Power which he had assumed, and shewing that howsoever they had been ready to declaim against all Tendencies to it in a Protestant King, when it crossed their Designs, yet they were resolved to make their best Advantage of it under a Popish King, even tho it was evidently levelled against the Protestant Religion, as it was loudly told them by Mr. *Sheils*, (one of their own Hill Men) in his *Hynd let loose*.

And truly, as there could not be any Thing more amazing to us, than to see so many Protestants, who were living peaceably in Communion with us in the End of King *Charles's* Reign (for then there was no Face of a Presbyterian Church in *Scotland*, except a few Hill-men) so suddenly to start out from us, and make a Rupture in so critical a Juncture, when all the Interests of the Protestant Religion lay so much at Stake: So it is certain, that nothing, which occurred to King *James* in all his Reign did so much strengthen his Hands as that did. I shall forbear to make any further Reflections upon this: only I must say, that if we had been in their Circumstances at that Time, and behaved as they did, I should have been ashamed ever to speak any Thing more of our Zeal for the Protestant Religion.

It is true I know some of you are not ashamed to say, That you did all this of Purpose to ruin King *James*, and to secure the Protestant Religion. But if this were true, it would be so far from excusing you, that upon the contrary, it would affix upon you the worst of Crimes, and make you guilty of the most hellish Dissimulation and Treason against him who was (and was owned by you as) your only lawful King, which was indeed a very proper Mean for setting up your Faction (for the doing of which, I confess, you stick at nothing how ugly or unlawful soever) but that which was so far contrary to all Religion, could not

possibly proceed from a true Zeal for the Protestant Religion. And so I must still say, that if we had behaved as you did at that Time, I should for ever after have been ashamed to boast of our Zeal for the Protestant Religion.

And as the Episcopal Clergy did, (as I have said) very warmly and stedfastly oppose themselves, in their Stations, unto Popery, so the Laity were not wanting in theirs to shew a due Regard for their Religion: For at that Parliament, unto which the Earl of *Murray* was Commissioner, when all imaginable Arts were used to have brought the several Members into a Compliance with the Designs of the Court, yet they could not obtain a Law for taking away the Penal Statutes, and when the Parliament was dissolved, it was very refreshing to see how general a Rejoicing there was among our People that the Court had met with a Disappointment; and how many of our Gentry (who in the Reign of King *Charles* had not shewed much of their Zeal for any Religion) did then begin to profess themselves zealous Protestants, and were resolute not to comply with Popery, whereas your Ministers at the same Time were not ashamed, not only to homologate the King's arbitrary Power by their flattering Address, (which I have caused to be printed at the End of this Pamphlet) but even to mock G O D also by their profound Hypocrisy, in giving Thanks to Him who had put such a Thing in the King's Heart. Whereas (as Mr. *Sheils* told them in his fore-mentioned Book) all the World knew that the Thing which was in the King's Heart, was to advance his own Religion, and by the same Means to ruin ours. And so gross was their Compliance at that Time, that I think strange how you can have the Forehead to accuse our Prelates for their Address to the King, seeing your Ministers addressed him with such Protestations of Loyalty, as I said before. And I heard a Gentleman of very good Quality and Reputation (a little after the Revolution) say that he would undertake upon the Hazard of his Life to prove, that Mr. *Kennedy* and Mr. *Crichton* (two leading Men among the Presbyterians, who have been Moderators to two of their General Assemblies since the Revolution) had several Meetings with the Chancellor's Priests, and that for the Indulgence which was granted them (together with the Papists) they offered to perswade their Party to concur with the Court for taking away the Penal Laws. And to my certain Knowledge, after the dissolving of *Murray's* Parliament, the Papists spared

not

not openly to say that perhaps they would get the Presbyterians to do that which we had refused.

In the Next Place, You come to speak of *Schism* from particular Churches, and I confess the Truth of your first general Proposition, viz. *That all Separation from a Church is not Schism.* I confess also that Persons may make a simple Separation even from a true Church, when they believe they cannot communicate with her, without partaking of her Sins. But it is not a simple Separation about which we are now debating, but only of setting up Altar against Altar, and forming a Society against the Church, and that such a Separation can never be made against a true Church, may be very plain, because (as I said before) so long as a Church remains a true Church, she still retains the Authority of Jesus Christ; and so for any Persons within her Jurisdiction to set up against her, is certainly to rebel against the Authority of Jesus Christ committed to his Church, and rending asunder his mystick Body, which is truly one of the most heinous Crimes, and one of the greatest Injuries that can be done to him.

But you say, When any Thing is imposed as a Condition of Communion, which is against Conscience and unlawful, (tho the Thing in Question be not of great Moment) then it is no Sin to separate or abstain from the Communion of any Church on Earth; and in that Case (you say) the *Schism* is not to be fastned on those who separate, but on those who give the Cause, &c. And if this should be understood of a simple Separation, I am not inclined to say much against it; but if it be understood of such a Separation as is in Debate betwixt us, (which makes a true *Schism*) it is a strange Kind of Doctrine which strikes at the Root of all Unity and Order in the Church. For we may be sure that factious Spirits will never want such Pretences, whereby they will be ready to impose upon the Consciences of weak Persons, and if it should be lawful for them immediately upon such Pretences to separate from and set up against the Church, I see not for what Use Christ hath given any Authority to her, or to what Purpose both he and his Apostles have so pathetically set forth the vast Importance of those Bonds of Union which are among Christians. Those Consciences which can for a Matter of no great Moment separate from and set up against a true Church, are the exact Transumpt of those which our Saviour reproved in the Pharisees, who were ready to strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel, yea and so much worse than theirs, as the

breaking the Union of the Church is worse than the corrupting of some of its particular Doctrines. But you will say, what shall such Men do, whose Consciences will not allow them to comply with some Conditions of Communion required by the Church? *Ans.* Most of those Scruples of Conscience which *Schismaticks* have against the Conditions of Communion prescribed by the Church, are only occasioned by the Byass of their own Hearts, and those Prejudices which they have conceived against them; and in that Case they are obliged to inform their Consciences better. But if the Church should require any Thing as a Condition of Communion, which is truly unlawful (which is hard to think of a true Church) then it is the Duty of those who cannot comply with such a Condition, to abstain from that Communion which cannot be had without it, and in the mean Time to suffer patiently, being ready to give a passive, when they cannot give an active Obedience to her Authority, but by no Means to divide from or set up against the Church, which while it remains a Church, doth still retain Christ's Authority, against which whosoever doth oppose himself, and set up a Faction, doth oppose and set up against Christ himself. For as *St. Cyprian* saith (in that Passage which I cited in the End of my last Pamphlet) *aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri, prater unum altare, & unum sacerdotium, non potest: quisquis alibi collegerit, spargit, &c.* That is, Another Altar cannot be constituted, nor a new Priesthood made, beside that one Altar and one Priesthood: whosoever gathereth any where else, scattereth. It is impossible that two opposite Societies in the same Church can both carry Christ's Authority; but the first must cease to be a Church, and so lose its Authority, before that Society which is set up against it can obtain it.

You come in the next Place to inquire on which Side the *Schism* in *Scotland* since the Year 1662 doth ly, and you tell me, that you think the Determination of this Point will very much depend upon History, and the Knowledge of Matters of Fact, which I grant to be true. But, as I told you in my last Pamphlet, it is of no great Importance for the determining of this Controversy, to trace the History farther back than the Year 1662; for tho it were true that *Scotland* had at first received *Presbytery* with the Christian Religion, yet that could be no warrantable Precedent for us against the whole Catholick Church, which was universally governed by Bishops or Prelates. But in Effect that Monkish Fa-

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ble of the *Culdees* ruling our Church, without Bishops, until the coming of *Palladius*, hath been sufficiently refuted by our late Writers. And as to Sir *James Dalrymple's Historical Collections*, of which you boast, all his Arguments upon that Head are sufficiently answered and fully refuted, by the learned Author of a late Pamphlet, called, *Remarks upon Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections, with an Answer to the Ecclesiastical Part of them*. And tho it were also true that Presbytery had come in with the Reformation among us, yet that could be no Obligation upon us to continue it, contrary to the universal Order of the Catholick Church. So that the Relevancy of this Pretence, as well as the former, depends intirely upon the Determination of the main Question. But truly this is also a plain Falshood; for, as there is nothing more evident, than that Presbytery was not settled in this Church immediately after the Reformation: So, that there was no such Thing designed at that Time by the King and Parliament, is abundantly shewed in a late Pamphlet, called, *An Appeal of the Episcopal Clergy of Scotland to the Lords in Parliament*. And that even the Church at that Time had no such Thing in her View, is plain from the Order which was at first settled in it, whereby it may sufficiently appear to any unbiass'd Person, that she did not throw off Prelacy, with the rest of the Popish Errors, (as you say.) Neither is it true that Mr. *Knox* and the rest of our worthy Reformers ruled the Church in Parity: For unto those Bishops who renounced the Popish Errors, were added a certain Number of Superintendents. Neither is it true (which you say) that this is but a temporary Expedient designed for the present Exigencies of the Church, which was to be laid aside when Ministers were planted, as appears from that which is called Mr. *Knox's* Liturgy (which was printed by Order of the General Assembly) where we have not only a particular Office for the Ordination of Superintendents, but we are also told, that Mr. *Knox* in the first Head of his Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. *Spotiswood*, Superintendant of *Lothian*, did hold forth the Necessity of the Office of Superintendents in the Church. It is true they ruled the Church in Conjunction with the Presbyters, but not with equal Power; for there can be nothing more plain from the said Office for their Ordination, than that the Superintendent was so far from being only an itinerant Preacher (as you disgracefully call him) that he was constituted both chief and universal Pastor

stor to the Province: For the People of the whole Province (but especially the Nobility and Gentry) being warned to be present, it is appointed that the following Questions should be asked at the whole Multitude, *Will ye not acknowledge this your Brother for the Minister of Christ Jesus? Will ye not reverence the Word of G O D proceeding from his Mouth? Will ye not receive of him the Sermon of Exhortation with Patience, not refusing the wholesome Medicine of your Souls although it be bitter and unpleasant to the Flesh? Will ye not finally maintain and comfort him in his Ministry, against all such as wickedly would rebell against G O D and his holy Ordinances?* And the Nobility and Gentry were principally to be urged with these Questions. By all which it doth sufficiently appear, that Superintendents were at first designed, by our Reformers, to be standing Officers in the Church.

It is true that after Mr. Andrew Melvill came home from Geneva, he began very quickly to shew his seditious Spirit, (which was impatient of any Superior) and to set up for Parity, and in a little Time he poisoned a considerable Number of his Brethren with the same Principles, who together with him became restless in their Endeavours for setting up of their Presbyterian Parity, until at length taking Occasion of the Difficulties wherein the King was involved (by the Rebellion of *Bothwell*, and some other Things that troubled him) they got their Presbytery set up by a Law, Anno 1592. But the King and Nation became very soon sensible of the bad Effects of that which they had so set up, and accordingly restored the Bishops to their spiritual Jurisdiction, by an Act of Parliament Anno 1606, and thereafter called a General Assembly Anno 1610, which by an Ecclesiastical Constitution restored Episcopacy, which was again confirmed and farther established by another Act of Parliament Anno 1612. And this Constitution continued in Vigour, until that rebellious Meeting Anno 1638, which set up the Covenant; by vertue of which, they not only deposed the Bishops, but raised an Army against the King, and stirred up such Commotions in England, as obliged his Majesty (for the quieting of them) to come to Scotland, and grant to the Scots Covenanters all that they asked from him. But he mistook his Measures, for whereas he thought that he had left all quiet behind him in Scotland, they very soon followed him with an Army into England, and rested not until they had dethroned him and delivered him up to the English

English Army, which kept him close Prisoner for a Time, and then murdered him, the sad Effects of which the Nations are still groaning under unto this Day. And yet you have the Forehead to say, that this abominable and rebellious Meeting, was not only a lawful General Assembly, but that it kept within its own Sphere, and meddled with nothing but its own spiritual Work, whereas really it meddled with all the publick Business, and was the great Wheel upon which all the rebellious and bloody Motions of the State were turned. And the succeeding Assemblies presumed, not only to censure, but even to counter-act the Parliament in the Matter of raising an Army for delivering the King from his Imprisonment. Yea so profound was their Hypocrisy, that after they had by a fair Profession deceived the Nation, under Pretence of carrying on the National Covenant, which was originally designed against Popery; and the King to deceive the Nation again had order'd his Ministers to press the very same Covenant, in the same Words, by his Authority, They threatned to excommunicate all who should take the King's Covenant (as they called it) and did actually persecute severals upon that Head.

So that you have been Rebels and Usurpers from the Beginning. You had indeed ample Professions of Loyalty to the Civil Powers, so long as they did wholly follow your Measures: but when they began to cross your Designs, then you fell immediately to your seditious and rebellious Practices again, of which all our Kings from the Reformation to the late Revolution have had ample and sad Experience. And even *Oliver Cromwell* was so sensible of this, that he was no sooner settled in his Protector's Chair, but he thought fit immediately to raise your General Assembly, and forbid them to presume to meet again under the Pain of Death. And if Providence should think fit to continue K. G. and you together, until you should get all your Enemies wholly subdued and extinguished, (which I pray G O D forbid) I doubt not but you would be ready to serve him in the same Dish. And whereas you say that Prelacy was abjured in the National Covenant, I tell you that there is no Truth in your Assertion, for it was only the *Romish* Hierarchy which was abjured; of which Prelacy was no Part, but a primitive Institution, which (beyond all Reason of Doubt) obtained in the Church several hundred Years before that Thing which we call Popery had any Being in the World. And to grant that Popery were as ancient as Prelacy, would certainly be the

the most dangerous Wound that could be given to the Protestant Cause.

And truly that upon which you incline to lay the Stress of the Question about our *Scottish Schism*, (*viz.* Who were the first and rightful Possessors of the Government in *Scotland*) can be of no Moment for the Decision of it. For as this depends wholly upon the Decision of the main Question betwixt Episcopacy and Presbtery: so whatsoever may be of that, except the setting up of Episcopacy had been such an Error as had unchurched us, the Guilt of the *Schism* must of Necessity be laid upon you. For it is unquestionable, that the great Body of that which was the Presbyterian Church of *Scotland* (finding themselves to have been sadly deceived by the fair Pretences of those factious Spirits, who were the leading Men among them, and so groaning to be delivered from their Yoke) did at the Restoration of King *Charles* embrace Episcopacy. And therefore it is plain, that if the embracing of it was not such an Error as did unchurch them, your separating from and setting up against them, makes you guilty of an abominable *Schism*. For if there was any just Authority in your Church, it behoved to remain with the great Body of its Officers, seeing there was an exact Parity among them, and none of them could pretend any Authority over their Brethren. And I hope you will not have the Confidence to say, that this was such an Error as did unchurch us, seeing you would thereby make no Christian Church to have been in the World for many hundred Years, and consequently neither at this Day, because the present Church (whether Episcopal or Presbyterian) must have their Authority derived to them from their Predecessors, who had it conveyed down to them in an uninterrupted Succession from Christ and his Apostles.

But then I find that you do first accuse us of two things, which you think should have translated the Authority of the Church to your Party, and those you set forth with the utmost Clamour that your most unaccountable Malice could inspire you with, and then you labour to exculpate your Selves with the same Clamour and Heat of Temper, and therefore I shall briefly consider the Substance of that which you say upon both those, tho I shall not be at the Pains of following you in all your Excursions, which would be both tedious and fruitless to the Reader.

As to the first then, The two Things whereof you accuse us, are, 1. *A horrid Defection* (as you pretend) from our

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Vows and Covenants, and from the ancient Principles of the Church of Scotland. 2. Our embracing of Erastianism, and setting up the King to be the Head of our Church, instead of Jesus Christ. As to the first Part of the Defection wherewith you load us, I answer, That the Covenant was a most unlawful Oath, and so, tho our Predecessors sinned in taking it, yet they did not sin in breaking it. It is true, if a Man should take an Oath concerning the doing of a Thing, which it were lawful for him to do, tho it were never so much contrary to his Interest, yet it would be necessary for him to keep it, according to that of *Psal. 15. 4. Who sweareth to his Hurt, and changeth not.* But when the Oath is unlawful, either as to the Matter, (being in itself a wicked Thing) or as to the Manner, (being done without the Consent of those who have just Power and Authority over us in that Matter) it is a Sin to take, but it is a double Sin to keep it. Now your Covenant was unlawful both as to the Matter and the Manner: And first as to the Matter of it, it was unlawful to abjure Prelacy, which was the Government settled by GOD in the Church in all Ages. And then it was also unlawful as to the Manner, being done not only without the Consent of the King, (our political Father) but also contrary to his express Commands. And certainly the King hath not a more proper Power over his Subjects in any Thing, than in publick Covenants and Combinations, especially such as were diametrically opposite to the standing Laws of the Land: So that your Covenant was a most unlawful and wicked Oath. But make of it what you will, you can never make it to amount to more but a Corruption of our Predecessor's Manners in that Particular, which could not unchurch them, and translate their spiritual Authority to you. For the Church of *Sardis* had but a few Names in her that had kept their Garments clean, and tho her Angel had a Name that he was living, yet he is said to be dead, and nevertheless Christ in his Epistle to her acknowledged her still for a true Church, *Rev. 3. 1.*

But you think the Ecclesiastical Authority did remain in the sounder (tho the lesser) Part, as you suppose your selves to have been: And here you rage and foam like the Lunatick in the Gospel, running out into a deal of confused and indigested Stuff, wherein it is hardly possible for me to trace you, tho I were inclined to do it. I suppose the Substance of what you say may be comprehended in this, that you compare your selves to *Moses and Aaron, Joshua and Caleb,*

Caleb; and those who embraced Episcopacy to the wicked *Israelites* who rebelled against *Moses* and *Aaron*. And you inquire whether *Moses* and *Aaron*, together with those that adhered to them could be reckoned *Schismatics*, because they were few in Number: But truly, Sir, as the Comparison is very odious, so it is a strange Thing that you or any Man else should allow your selves the Freedom to talk at such a Rate. *Moses* and *Aaron* had their Authority immediately from *G O D*, and confirmed unto them by most stupendous Miracles, so that tho there had not one Man adhered unto them, all those who set up against them behoved to have been wicked Rebels against *G O D*'s Authority immediately and miraculously conferred upon them, and indefeasibly resident in them. But I pray where was there any peculiar Authority conferred upon you either by *G O D* or Men? Or how could you pretend to any more but your Share of the Ecclesiastical Authority, according to your Parity, which your Constitution obliged you to cede to the greater Number? And it is unquestionable that those who imbraced Episcopacy were by far the greater Number, even the great Body of the Church being near seven to three. It is true, if they had embraced any Thing that was in it self unlawful, you had no Reason to comply with them. But then (as I told you in my *Answer to your Parochial Bishop's Letter*) all that you could do in that Case was only to declare your Dissent, and then hold you quiet; for to go (even in that Case) to set up a Faction against all the lawful Authority both of Church and Kingdom, was both a hateful *Schism* and Rebellion.

But, you say, we betrayed the Protestant Religion, and rejected your *Confession of Faith*, &c. *Ans.* All this is horrid and wicked Calumny, for (as I have shewed before) the Protestant Religion did no sooner appear to be in Danger but we shewed our firm Resolutions to adhere to it, and to oppose our selves (regularly in our Stations) to all Attempts which should be made against it; whereas you basely betrayed it, and for the setting up of your Dagon joined with the Papists. And as to that which you say of our rejecting your *Confession of Faith*, I *Ans.* That tho we rejected your *Confession of Faith* (which was framed in a Time of Rebellion both against the King and the Church) yet you cannot say that we rejected the Protestant *Confession of Faith*; for we swore to adhere to the *Confession of Faith* framed by our Reformers from Popery, and which was the only legal Con-

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session of Faith inserted in our Acts of Parliament, and even
 that (which was no direct Rejection even of your *Westmin-*
ster Confession) was not done till a long Time after the form-
 ing of your *Schism*. And therefore your following Assertion,
That we had rendered our selves unworthy to serve at G O D's
Altar, and were ipso facto fallen from the Honour of our Mi-
nisterial Function, appears plainly to be most malicious and
 unwarrantable: For the Malice of Hell cannot say that we
 departed from any of the fundamental Doctrines of Christia-
 nity. And for the Change of the Government of the Church,
 it was done agreeably to the Word of G O D, and Pattern
 of the Primitive Church, as I have shewed in my two for-
 mer Pamphlets, and will have Occasion yet farther to shew
 in this, when I come to confute that which you say in your
Apology upon that Head. And make of it what you can, it
 will never be a relevant Ground, either for unchurching
 us, or setting up your *Schism*, as I have shewed before. I
 shall not trouble the Readers by saying any more upon this
 Point, but only desire that they may consider the wicked
 Means which you make Use of for deceiving your People,
 blasphemously speaking of your Covenant, as if it were
 G O D's gracious Covenant made with us in Christ Jesus;
 whereas it was certainly hatched in Hell, and did (very
 probably) come from Rome originally, for disturbing the
 Peace of the Protestant Church: And accordingly we found
 by our sad Experience, that, it did very effectually answer
 the Design; for no sooner was the Hedge of the Government
 thereby broken down (especially in the Church of England)
 but immediately a Multitude of pernicious and blasphe-
 mous Sects (like Swarms of Locusts from the bottomless pit)
 brake forth, and entring in at the Breach, overspread and
 darkened the bright Light of the Gospel in those Lands;
 and in Effect I may justly say, that the Consequences of your
 wicked Covenant have been the most woful of all that have
 befallen this poor Nation, since King Robert Bruce did vin-
 dicate it from the Tyranny of Edward I.

And then as to what you say of our Defection from the
 ancient Principles of the Church of Scotland, I have said
 enough already to shew the Falsity of the Accusation, and if
 you would have more of it, be pleased to read a late Pam-
 phlet, called, *A Letter to Mr. Francis Melvil Presbyterian*
Preacher at Aberdeen. And you will find it proved (beyond
 all Possibility of Answer) that not only our Reformers in
 Scotland, but of most of the rest of Europe also, did heartily

approve both of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of *England*, which doth so retort the Charge upon you and your Party, that you will never be able to clear your selves from it.

I come now in the next Place to consider the Charge of *Eraſtianism*, which you ſet up againſt us with all the Clamour that is poſſible; but before I proceed any further, I muſt firſt deſire the Reader to take Notice (ſeeing you will not do it) of that which I ſaid in my *Answer to your Parochial Biſhop's Letter*, concerning the deep Hypocriſy which you manifeſt in this Particular, while you raiſe ſo great a Clamour againſt us for our ſuppoſed *Eraſtianism*, and pretend that you cannot keep Communion with us upon that Account, and in the mean Time make no Objection of it againſt your Brethren in *Holland* (with whom you have always kept a good Correſpondence) notwithſtanding that their Government far exceeds all that can be ſaid of ours upon that Head. And now I think that I need not add much unto what I ſaid in my forementioned Pamphlet for our Vindication in this Point, ſeeing what you ſay by Way of Reply to it, is little more than a Multitude of virulent Expreſſions, and confident unwarranted Aſſertions. Only I muſt touch a little upon your Miſrepresentation of the Acts of Parliament 1661 and 1662, together with the groundleſs Conſequence which you draw from them. And firſt as to the Acts themſelves, you ſay that the Parliament which met 1661, expreſſly declared the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, and left it to him to ſettle any Government in the Church which he pleaſed, whereupon he emitted a Proclamation for reſtoring Prelacy in this Church, and that he did by vertue of his Royal Prerogative, without any Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution. Where you do very conſiderably miſrepresent the Act of 1661: For, whereas you ſay, that the Parliament aſſerted the King's Supremacy, neither did the Parliament at that Time aſſert any Thing of the King's Supremacy, neither did his Maſteſty pretend to any other but a civil Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Matters (as I told you in my forementioned Pamphlet;) but diſclaimed all other which might incroach upon the inſtrinfick Power of the Church, under his Hand, as his Royal Grandfather had done before him: And in this Act the King only declared (with Conſent of the Parliament) that he would make his Care to ſettle the Government of the Church, and ſecure it in ſuch a Frame as ſhould be moſt agreeable to the

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Word of G O D, most suitable to Monarchical Government, and most complying with the publick Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom. And that he did this without any new Ecclesiastical Constitution, was, because it was plain that there was no Need of any such Constitution, seeing he was only to revive the former Settlement, which had been most disorderly and rebelliously taken away.

And then, as to that Act of 1662, The Parliament did indeed assert the King's Prerogative in Ecclesiastick Matters, by vertue of a Right inherent to his Crown (not as a Pagan or Mahumetan, as you do sinistrously represent it, but) as a Christian King of the same Religion with his Subjects of the Protestant Church, which was no more than what the great *Constantine* claimed at the first general Council of *Nice*, (and which is competent to all Christian Princes) viz. of being *τῶν ἑξω ἐπίσκοπος*, for disposing of the outward Government and Policy of the Church, as the Act words it, and not as you do, of the Government and Policy of the Church absolutely considered. The particular Species of the Government, and the spiritual Exercise of it, is intrinsic to the Church, and so far they can have no Dependence upon any King; but when the Church is established by Law, with legal Privileges, the outward Government and Policy of it hath a necessary Connection with the Order of the State; and therefore must have a Dependence upon the King: And when the Church expects his Protection in those Things, it is fit that she should be ready to own this Dependence upon him. Neither doth this infer any Incroachment upon the spiritual Kingdom of Jesus Christ, which we are as zealous to preserve unviolated as you are. Now it is plain, that any Man of Sense may easily discern the Difference here: But you find it necessary to dissemble it, and alter the Parliament's Words, because you could not otherwise so effectually impose upon your deluded People. And now as to the Conclusion which you draw from your false Premises, it is plain that it must fall together with them, and consequently that the *Schism* must return upon your selves.

In the next Place I come to consider the Substance of that which you plead for your own Exculpation, which is either relative to your separating Ministers, or your Lay-men. And first you plead in Favours of your Ministers, That they were Lawful Pastors of this Church, and it is certain that after the Year 1662, they were nowise incapacitate or disabled from the Exercise of their Ministry by any Ecclesiastical Sentence; for no Church

Church Court presumed ever to suspend or depose them: Wherefore seeing they were Ministers of Christ, and under an indispensable Obligation by his Word to preach the Gospel, and seeing their Pastoral Relation to their Flocks remained undissolved by any Ecclesiastical Power, and their Flocks still adhered to them as their lawful Pastors, and demanded the Administration of Ordinances from them, according to their Ordination Vows, they could not be answerable to the great Shepherd of the Sheep, who had intrusted them to feed them, to neglect their Pastoral Work, &c. *Ans.* It is not my Business to controvert whether they were lawful Pastors, and it is true that they were not deposed by any Ecclesiastical Judicatory; but they did in a Manner depose themselves, by not waiting for the Execution of the Law against them, relinquishing their Charges, without any Force or Violence used against them, and therefore they could not reasonably think, that after the Church had filled their Places, they might re-assume their former Charges again to the Disturbance of the Church; yea it was not reasonable for them to think that they might return even to those Places which were not planted, after they had once submitted to the Sentence of the Magistrate, and thereby rendered them vacant, much less could it be lawful for them to set up a *Schism*, and form a Party against the Church, which is a Matter of the greatest Consequence, and a Crime of the deepest Dye, being no less than a rending asunder the mystick Body of Jesus Christ, and tearing out the very Bowels of their Mother. I do not plead that they were in Conscience obliged to leave off preaching, upon the simple Prohibition of the Magistrate, but I say, after they had once submitted to the Sentence of the Magistrate exaundering them, it was not lawful for them to re-assume their Charges again, to the Disturbance of the Church. But, seeing there was no unlawful Conditions of Lay-communion required by the Church, it was necessary that they should keep Christian Communion with her in that Capacity, even as a good Number of them did for a Time.

But you say, *There were unlawful Conditions of Lay-communion required, which by my own Confession will exculpate them of the Schism, &c.* *Ans.* I never said that some unlawful Conditions required for Lay-communion will warrant a *Schism*, I said indeed that there were no unlawful Conditions required of you, which made your Separation altogether inexcusable, and I am apt to think that if the Conditions

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tions of Communion be truly unlawful, it may excuse a withdrawing from that Communion, which cannot be obtained without those Conditions: But if the Corruptions of the Church be not such, as she doth no more remain a true Church, it can never be lawful to set up a *Schism* against her; for it is impossible that there can be two opposite Churches. And in the present Case you have no relevant Pre-
 tence to justify your *Schism*, seeing there was no unlawful Condition required of you. But you say, *That the bearing of Prelatists was imposed and required as a Test and Sign of their Approbation of the Erastian and Prelatical Government then established, which was against their Consciences to give.* And for shewing the Truth of this, you appeal to the Act of Parliament which enjoined Conformity, which you say is the first Act of Sess. 3. Parl. 1. of *Charles II.* (but herein you are mistaken, for it is the 2d Act of that Sess.) which you say runs thus, *His Majesty doth expect from all his good and dutiful Subjects a due Acknowledgment of and hearty Compliance with his Majesty's Government Ecclesiastical,* (you should have added *Civil* also, for so do the Words run) *as is now by Law established in this Kingdom, and that in order thereto, they will give their cheerful Concurrence and Assistance to such Ministers as by publick Authority are or shall be admitted in their several Parishes, and attend all the ordinary Meetings for Divine Worship in the same.* Now you say, *It is well known that they lookt upon Prelacy and Erastianism, which was his Majesty's Government Ecclesiastical then established by Law, to be sinful, and contrary to their solemn Oaths and Covenants, &c.* Now for Answer to this the Question is not what the Presbyterians thought unlawful and sinful, but what was really so, and what upon good Grounds they could think so. I know that such was the Knavery of the Presbyterian Preachers, that for supporting of the Faction they buzz'd those Things continually in the Ears of the poor People, both by their seditious Sermons and Pamphlets (and particularly I remember the Author of that pestiferous Book, called, *An Apologetical Relation of the Sufferings, &c.* blots a deal of Paper upon this Point) for which they have the greater Account to make unto GOD, for there is not a

Word of Truth in what they say. For *First*, Prelacy is so far from being unlawful and sinful, that it is the only Government which GOD hath planted, and the Apostles left behind them in the Church, and that Government which the King claimed with respect to the Church

Church was not *Eraſtian* (as I have ſhewed before) being no other than what the good Kings of *Judah* did exerce, and what the great *Constantine*, the firſt Chriſtian Emperor claimed, and which was conceded to him by the firſt general Council of *Nice*. And that the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church was contrary to their Oaths and Covenants, doth not at all prove it to be unlawful; for thoſe (as I have ſhewed before) were moſt unlawful Oaths, which it was a great Sin to take, but a Duty to break.

But *Secondly*, How unlawful ſoever thoſe Things might be, yet the Approbation of them was nowiſe required as a Condition of your Chriſtian Communion with us, for I am ſure, the attending the pure Ordinances of G O D, in the Hands of Miniſters who were ſubject to Prelates, could not ſo much as with any Shew of Reason, be interpreted as an Approbation of that Government. But you ſay, *The King required this as a Teſt and Sign of their Approbation of the Eraſtian and Prelatick Government by Law eſtabliſhed.* Anſw. 1. There is no ſuch Thing can be inferred from the Act of Parliament, for the Act only ſays, *That the King expects a due Acknowledgment of, and hearty Compliance with his Maſteſty's Government, not only Eccleſiaſtical but alſo Civil*; and in order thereto, that they will attend the ordinary Meetings for Divine Worſhip; but not a Word of their doing it as a Sign or Teſt of any Thing. The King indeed requires that as a Condition, without which they could not comply with his Government either Civil or Eccleſiaſtick; but there is not ſo much as an *Innuendo* do that they were to do it under that Formality; and I muſt ſay, that it is a ſtrangely debauched Conſcience which will ſtart at ſuch a far fetched Reduplication, and in the mean Time will not ſcruple to run into one of the moſt heinous Sins that a Chriſtian can be guilty of, *viz.* the breaking the Union of the Church.

But *Thirdly*, Though the King ſhould have required them to attend the ordinary Meetings for Divine Worſhip, under that Formality and Reduplication, yet that could never oblige them to do it after that Manner. No Magiſtrate on Earth can pretend to any Dominion over Mens Hearts and Souls; and therefore tho they may oblige them to outward Work, yet they can nowiſe oblige them to do under ſuch a Formality as they think fit, whether it be ſinful or not: And therefore, if the material Duty be a Thing commanded by G O D (as it is in this Caſe) the Formality

being by under which it is enjoined, cannot excuse the not Performance of it. The outmost that can be said in this Case, is, that the Performance of that Duty which is commanded by the Magistrate under a sinful Formality, may give Scandal unto others, who not knowing my Heart, may believe that I performed it under that Formality, but that is a Scandal only taken and not given; for all Men who see my Actions (seeing they know not my Heart) are obliged to put the most charitable Construction upon them that they will bear. And certainly no Man can with a good Conscience abstain from the Performance of any material Duty, whatsoever Construction others may put upon his Performance, or whatsoever they may believe the Formality of it to be.

But you say, *That the Practice of Laicks many Years ago, cannot fix the Charge of Schism upon the Presbyterian Ministers of this Age, nor warrant People's withdrawing from them.* Ans: It is not only the Presbyterian Laicks which we blame in this Matter, but both the Laicks and the Ministers together, yea chiefly the Ministers who deluded and incited the Laicks unto it, and whatsoever Measure of Time it may be since that was done, it must still render your Communion unlawful, so long as it stands upon that Foot; neither can any Length of Time legitimate a *Schism*, but the longer it continues, still the worse it is, and the more unlawful to communicate with it.

In the next Place, you come to the settling of your Government (by the then regnant Powers) at the late Revolution, and you plead the Advantage of the Laws then made for you, and so you return again to your old Cant of our pretended Defection and Erastian Form of Government. But I answer briefly, That whatsoever Reason we had to complain of your Behaviour at the Revolution, yet we lay not the Foundation of your *Schism* there, which you had set up long before, and which at the Revolution you only continued to support and confirm upon the same Foot, and which (as I told you in my forementioned Pamphlet) no humane Laws could legitimate. We do not say that your casting off our Prelates at the Revolution was the Ground of your *Schism*, for we know that you never acknowledged them, and this was only an Effect of the Continuance of your *Schism*, which you had begun by a total casting off, and declaring against all Prelacy, whereby (as I told you) you made your selves *Schismatics* with respect to the Catholic Church. But I must tell you, that the Reason you

give for the casting off our Prelates is false and malicious, viz. that they were only the Deputies of the State, and had no Church Right for their Power: For it is very plain that they were Church Officers, who had their Ecclesiastical Power conferred upon them by lawful and canonical Ordination, from Persons who had the same Power regularly conveyed down to them from the Apostles; which you cannot truly say of your Party.

But you say, *you would fain know why I make the Presbyterians Schismatics for casting off the Bishops in the Year 1690, more than for doing it in the Year 1638.* Ans. I think strange how it should come in your Head to think that I should date your *Schism* from the Year 1690, seeing I have so plainly told you, that I incline to fix the Date of it at your setting up Altar against Altar, after the Restoration of King Charles. I told you that I esteemed the Presbyterians in the Year 1638 and downwards to be *Schismatics* from the Catholic Church, but I did not incline to derive the Date of our *Scottish Schism* from that Period, because at that Time almost the whole Body of the Church was either deluded or compelled to enter into the *Schism*, and so I thought fit to leave that Point to the Decision of the main Question. And you are mistaken when you think that it should be dangerous for me to say they were *Schismatics* at that Time, lest it might invalidate the Ordination of the late Episcopal Ministers who received their Ordination from them: For if Presbyterian Ordination be valid in it self (abstracting from the *Schism*) then the returning of the late Episcopal Ministers into the Body of the Church, and renouncing the *Schism* by embracing Episcopacy again, did confirm their Ordination: but whether their Ordination (being certainly uncanonical) was in it self valid or not, is a Controversy which I do not incline to enter into, seeing you are certainly *Schismatic* whether it be so or not.

But further, you labour to vindicate your Party from all Iniquity, in framing the Model of your Government, as you set it up at the Revolution (which all the Wit of your Party will never be able to do) and in order thereto you bring an Objection (as you pretend) from me, as if I had said, *The Presbyterians in 1638 did not exclude their Brethren in the Ministry from their Share in the Government of the Church, as was done by you in the Year 1690.* But, Sir, you did not find these Words in any Part of my Pamphlets, neither did I make any such Con-

parifon, and therefore I shall take no Notice of your first Answer to that pretended Objection, but I did indeed blame your Conduct in that Model of your Government which you established in the Year 1690, (tho I neither complained of it as injurious to those of true Episcopal Principles, nor mentioned it as any Ground of our refusing your Communion, as you fondly imagine. I told you indeed that you thereby made it impossible for any honest Man who had been of the Episcopal Communion (whatsoever his Principles were) to join with you. And I told you also, That the Model of your Government was not only contrary to Presbyterian Principles, but that it was likewise a most unaccountable Piece of Tyranny, to treat after that Manner those, who, by the same Laws which established your Government, were still acknowledged as Presbyters of this National Church. But you say, *Seeing the King and Parliament thought fit to abolish Prelacy and Erastianism, and restore the ancient Government and Constitution of this Church, was it not just and reasonable to intrust it into the Hands of Presbyterian Ministers, and not to commit it to Men of Prelatical and Erastian Principles, who would soon have overturn'd and destroyed it.* But, Sir, as I never doubted but your carnal Policy would prompt you to any Thing of that Kind, so I would gladly know how Parity Men, such as you are, could treat those who by your own Laws were still acknowledged as Presbyters of this National Church, after such a Manner? Or, How you could lawfully deprive them of their just Right, which was inseparable from their Office, and usurp to your selves such an unwarrantable Power over them? But you say, *The King thought fit to abolish Prelacy and Erastianism, &c.* And I believe that it was indeed his Design to abolish Prelacy, but on my certain Knowledge (if we might believe the President of the Council of England) it was not his Design to abolish that which you call Erastianism, or to quit any Part of the Prerogative of the Crown in Ecclesiastical Matters: For (as the said noble Person told us) he was very angry with his Commissioner for passing any Act in Prejudice of his Prerogative for which he had no Instructions. And when there was a Memorial delivered to the Marquis of Carmarthen (who was then President of the Council of England) from Sir George Mackenzie, shewing, That by the Act whereby you pretend Erastianism was abolished, there was no more taken away, but the Stretch of the Supremacy which was made by the Explanation of it in the Year 1669. And

that the old Prerogative established in the Person of King James VI. and his Successors was still remaining untouched (which Memorial my Collegue and I received from the Hands of Sir George Mackenzie, and delivered it to the said Marquis of Carmarthen, and of which I have a Double still lying by me) he said to my Hearing, that King William would be very well pleased to know so much. And then as to what you say more in that Paragraph, concerning the Male-treatment you met with from us, and your Moderation towards us, it is so full of Falshood, and hath been so often redargued already, that it is not worth my Pains to insist upon it.

But you say, *Is it not strange to hear me plead for our Clergy's being intrusted with the Government of the Presbyterian Church, when they were not so much as allowed to govern their own Prelatical Church, &c.*

Unto which I reply, that I never pleaded for our Clergy's being intrusted with the Government of the Presbyterian Church, altho I did very justly blame you who were Party men, for usurping an unjust Dominion over Presbyters which was plainly contrary to your own Principles. And whereas you say that we were not intrusted with the Government of our own Prelatical Church, I answer, That we were intrusted with as much of the Government of our own Church as was competent to our inferior Stations: Our Bishops had indeed a negative Voice in our Synods, but there was no more due to them by our Constitution, and so much was necessary for preserving of Order in the Church.

But you have yet one Argument which you think to be demonstrative and *ad hominem* against us, or at least against me, which is as follows, you say, *I grant there was no Schism in this Church before the Year 1662, and consequently the Ministers who governed this Church before that Year, were neither Schismatics nor Usurpers; now you think the Question is Whether our Ministers or yours be the rightful Successors of those ancient lawful Ministers, &c.* And so supposing that you, present Presbyterians are certainly the only lawful Successors of those Ministers, you conclude with a great deal of Ostentation that we, and not you, are guilty of the Schism. But soft and fair, Sir, your Confidence in this Argument is as vain and groundless as in any of the former, and the Answer is very plain from what I have said before. For tho I do not fix the Date of your Schism to any Time before your se-

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And now, from what I have said, I think that I may draw a Conclusion quite contrary to yours, and say, That it may be abundantly evident to every unbyassed Reader, that your pretended Church are Schismaticks, and Usurpers of the Government of this National Church, unto which they have no more Ecclesiastick Right than the *Donatists* had in *Africk*, unto whom you are indeed very like in all Things; (as I have shewed before:) so you, who are their Successors, can never be esteemed the Representatives of the Church, but of the *Schism*.

First then you say, *The Donatists reviled and reproached their Brethren the Catholicks, with odious Names and Denominations, because of their Difference from them in lesser Things.* And I need not here set down what base Names your Party have, from the Beginning of their Schism, given to us whom they call *Curates*.

Secondly, You say, *The Donatists separated from the Communion of the Catholicks, in which they had constantly lived before, without any just Cause or relevant Ground.* And I am sure there was never a Schism made in the Church of Christ upon less relevant Grounds than yours hath been; the very Ground of which being that, which was esteemed a necessary Duty by the Catholick Church of all Ages. And whereas you say, *that we lived in Communion with you until the Year 1703,* it is a flat, barefac'd and notorious Untruth; and I cannot well guess what you mean by it: Neither is it true that our

Fathers lived in Communion with you for above 140 Years, (as you affirm;) for it was rather you that kept Communion with us untill the Year 1638, and there was no different Communion set up in this Church, until you did it, by forming a Faction against the Church after the Year 1662; and that very Thing makes you *Schismaticks*, and renders your Communion unlawful.

Thirdly, You say, *The Donatists were very rash in judging their Brethrens Hearts and spiritual Condition, censuring the Principles and Ends of their religious Actions, and charging all with Hypocrisie who differed from them;* and so you labour to assimilate us unto them in that Point, charging my self particularly to be guilty of judging the Secrets of your Hearts, which belongs only to God; which, if true, were certainly a very great Fault, that, (as you tell me,) I had Reason to repent of: But, as I know Charity thinketh no Evil, so I appeal to all indifferent Persons who have conversed with me, whether they have known me for a rash Judger, either of Men's Hearts or secret Actions: But when Men's overt Actions do demonstratively shew forth the Unagreeableness of their Hearts to their Profession, it can be no Fault to judge them to be Hypocrites; yea, and even to let the World know so much, lest they be ensnared by the Speciousness of their Pretences. But on the other Hand, it is plain that the *Donatists* were never more guilty of rash Judgment with respect to the Catholics, than you have been with respect to us: For it was the constant Cant of your Preachers not only to damn the *Curates*, but even all who hear'd them to the lowest Hell, which was the very Thing whereby they frightened the poor ignorant People from coming to our Churches: And we found to our sad Experience, that many of the People which kept your Conventicles, who had learned nothing of the true Christian and Apostolick Creed yet had learned this Part of your Creed very exactly.

Fourthly, You say *the Donatists were rash in passing Sentence upon Mens eternal State, and limited all the true Church to their own Party, &c. which, you say, is applicable to us with respect to you.* And you say, *That the Catholics for Peace sake were content to yield to the Donatists that their Bishops should be accounted true Bishops; but the Donatists were not so good natured as to own the Catholick Bishops as such.* And you have the Confidence to apply this to us, tho you have no Bishops at all: But it is plain the whole Character is very applicable to your Party, who (as I have showed in my Answer

(to the Parock. Bishop's Letter, Pag. 13, 14, 15.) set up upon such Principles as are contrary to all the World, even the Presbyterian Churches abroad not excepted.

Fifthly, You say, *The Donatists were malicious against the Catholicks, and did violently persecute them, whenever it was in their Power; yea, joined with the Vandals for that End: But when the Catholicks at any Time proceeded to censure any of their Number, or applied to the Civil Powers for putting some of them, who were most turbulent, out of their Charges, they cried out of Persecution, and made it a Ground of Separation from them.* And so you leave the Reader to apply this Character as he sees Cause. Now it is not worth my while to inquire whether this Character doth exactly answer the *Donatists* Case; but, as I am content to leave it to every unbiassed Reader (who knows the History of your Sect from the Beginning,) to apply it as he sees Cause, so I am astonished to see you so blinded with Prejudice and inordinate Self-love, as not to discern the exact Portraiture of your own Party in this Character. Your Malice against us hath been such, that nothing out of Hell could exceed it; which made you join with the Papists against us in the Reign of the late K. J. Your Cruelty was such in the Time of your Covenanted Rebellion against K. C. I. when you had Power, that no Man could dissent from you under the Hazard of his Life and Estate. For a considerable Time (while you met with any Opposition in carrying on your rebellious Designs) you did almost continually stain the Scaffolds with the best Blood in the Kingdom, for no other Crime but because the Persons whom you murdered, had served their King (whom at the same Time you owned for yours also) against you; and your good Churchmen had a very considerable Hand in their Blood. Neither was it only those who were military Men, and were taken with their Sword in their Hand, who were thus inhumanely treated, but even all those who served the King faithfully in any Capacity; for so was the excellent Sir Robert Spottiswood (who was no military Man, but only a Man of the Law and President of the Session) treated, who died upon a Scaffold at St. Andrews, being condemned by one of your pretended Parliaments which sat there. And after the same Manner was one of my Father's Brothers treated, who was called *George Small*, (and by a Mistake in Bishop Guthrie's *Memoirs* called *James Small*) who being one of the King's menial Servants, and being sent by his Majesty with Letters to the Marquis of

of Montrose in the Highlands, was in his return taken at Elphinston, and carried into Edinburgh to the Committee of Estates, (as it was called) who did immediately pass the Sentence of Death upon him, and hanged him at the Cross upon the very next Day following. And such was their Cruelty at that Time, that (by the Summariness of the Executions) they did as much as was in their Power to destroy both Soul and Body together: For, not to mention the horrid and barbarous Massacre of the Irish Souldiers, who yielded themselves in a Body upon Quarter at Philiphaugh, (for which one of your zealous Church-men was blamed by Sir David Leslie;) I remember a strange Instance of it in a young Gentleman of about Nineteen Years of Age, called Alexander Ogilvy, eldest Son to the Laird of Innercarity, who being taken in his Flight from Philiphaugh, was carried to Glasgow, where the Sentence of Death was pronounced against him, and his Friends going to the Marquis of Argyll, (who then ruled all) and intreating earnestly that his Execution might be delayed two or three Days, that they might prepare him for Death, by instructing him in the Principles of the Christian Religion, (because he was an ignorant Youth, who had fled from the School to the Camp, the said Marquis bade them instruct him well against one o the Clock in the Afternoon, for there could be no more Time allowed him. Again, in the Reign of K. C. II. after your Declaration of *Sanguhar*, you murdered not only the K's Souldiers in cold Blood, as you could find Occasion, but even Ministers who were living peaceably. And since the late Revolution, tho' you found it not convenient to shed our Blood, yet you have persecuted us so as the like was never heard of in any Christian Country, except among your Masters of the Church of Rome: For you have not only passed judicial Sentences, without either Justice or Mercy, against all whom your Power could reach, but the Rabble, whom you hounded out against our Brethren in the West and South Countries, committed such Acts of Barbarity upon them as it is not easy to express. And yet you have the Forehead to accuse us of being like the *Donatists* in that Particular, whereas your Party is the very Transumpt of the *Donatists* and their *Circumcellians* in that Point, as we have them represented by *Optat. Milevit*, whom you may find cited to that Purpose by the reverend and learned Mr. Sage in his second Letter to Mr. George Meldrum, Pag. 57.

But you say, *While we had Power we persecuted the Presbyterians*

erians to Death. *Ans.* There were none so persecuted, but those who were either in open Rebellion against the K. or those who published and adhered to that most rebellious Declaration of *Sangubar*, which was worse than being taken in a simple Rebellion, and a Thing that no Government on Earth (how gentle soever) could suffer: And tho' your Brethren in *Holland* were very ready both to encourage you in those Practices, and to raise the Cry of Persecution with you, yet we know that if any of their Subjects had behaved themselves so towards their State, they could by no Means have escaped the Gallows; and if any Party of Men had after that Manner set up against their Government, they would have swept them away from the Face of the Earth. But whatsoever that Persecution against your Brethren was, it was the King's Ministers of State and his Souldiers who were the Authors and Actors of it, and the Church-men had no Hand in it. The Laws did indeed ordain the Ministers of the Church to give up a List of the Dissenters in their several Parishes, (which was no great Token of their Forwardness in the Persecution) but there were not many who obeyed it. I knew some West-country Ministers, who instead of persecuting their dissenting Parishioners, did carefully skreen them from the Government. And there is yet living a very good honest Man of my Acquaintance, who told me, that he kept one of his Parishioners and hid him in his own House from the Souldiers, who were seeking to have taken him, and so saved him from the Gallows. And that the ungrateful Wretch was one of the Ringleaders of the Rabble who did cast him out of his own House, together with his Wife and Children, exposing them to the Injury of the Weather, in a cold Winter Night, and would not allow him so much as one of his own Feather Beds, to lay some of his sick Children upon, in the Shelter of a Wall, until the Dawning of the Day, so that one of them did actually die by Reason of the Cold: All which was more like Turks than Christians. And I think it may be very easy to judge whether it was Faction, or Religion, that prompted the Actors into it.

But you say, *All the Trouble we meet with is for seditious Practices*, which is palpably false; for notwithstanding all the Trouble we have met with since the Revolution, there was never any Thing like seditious Practices, which could (even in your own Sense) be charged against us, before the late Insurrection made by the Earl of *Mar*: And how seditious
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soever you may interpret those Practices to have been, for which we have suffered since that Time, your Persecutions of us, pretended to be upon that Account, have been most illegal and unagreeable to the Character which you pretend to. And whereas you say, *That you did not meddle with our Consciences, nor trouble us for our Principles, or for not attending the Ordinances of the established Church*; it is also plainly false: For most of all the Troubles which our Brethren of the Ministry have met with, hath been upon the Account of our Principles. And that our Laicks have not met with more Trouble from you, for not attending your Ordinances, was not your Fault; for as you had never any legal Power to compell them to keep your Ordinances, so the only Time that you had any Kind of Power to do it was during the Confusions which ensued upon the breaking up of *Mar's Army*, and the returning of *K. G.* his Army from the North; and then you made pretty good Use of your Time, threatening to dragoon all who would not attend your Ordinances.

And now, I think it may be very easy for the impartial Reader to judge, whether your *Donatistick* Characters be more applicable to us, or you. And as to the other two Characters, which you profess only to name, and leave to the judicious and conscientious Readers, who know both Parties, to make the Application, I am as ready to leave the Application to them as you are, and so it is not worth my Pains to enter upon any particular Consideration of them.

I come now to the second Head of your *Apology*, concerning the Conduct of the Presbyteries of *Angus* and in the North, toward the Prelatical Clergy, containing a pretended Vindication of those Presbyteries. And for redargution of what you say upon that Head, I shall refer you to a late Pamphlet, called, *The Appeal of the Episcopal Clergy to the Lords in Parliament*, where you will find your unaccountable illegal Oppressions of us proved to a Demonstration. Only because you take so much Pains to defame me, and that particularly in a Matter concerning the Government wherein you know that I cannot take much Freedom to answer you, which also being good for nothing but the venting of your Malice, by endeavouring to affix a Mark of Disgrace upon me, (whereby you show your self to be a genuine Disciple of him who is the grand Accuser of the Brethren) I must say something in my own Defence. I see you have been at no small Pains, to inform your self very particularly concerning

cerning my Conversation, (and much more than was consistent with the Measures of any good Man's Duty to do;) but you should have well considered, that any Person who was so malicious as to give you such particular Information concerning me, would not much scruple to give you something of it false also. You accuse me of gross Diffimulation and Perfidiousness with respect to the Government, and if you had the least Shadow of accusing me upon any other Head, there is no Reason to doubt but you would have been ready to do it. But I defy the grand Accuser, and all his Underlings.

The gross Diffimulation and Perfidiousness whereof you accuse me, is much more like your own Party, and perhaps more agreeable to your self, than to me. I always hated Diffimulation; and as for Perfidiousness, GOD knows that (if my Heart deceive me not) I would not redeem my Life, by being guilty of it. You accused me much after the same Manner in your former Pamphlet, and I told you that I had been guilty of no Juggling, and if either you or any Body else would be pleased to talk with me, I would show you that upon the contrary, I had been always both constant to my Principles and the Measures of my Duty. Now, if you had any Thing of Christian Charity to my Person, which (I thank GOD) I have to the Persons of all Men, the worst mine Enemies (and even those of your Party not excepted) this might have satisfied you; but your Malice prompted you to a more particular defaming of me, and so you have told the World, *That it seems I have so framed my political Principles, as they may not upon any Occurrent disturb my Peace and Quiet.* But as this is very uncharitable, so it may appear plainly to be false, from the whole Tenor of my Conversation since the late Revolution: For if my Principles had been such, why should I have refused (when the late King first mounted the Throne) to have read the disclaiming Proclamation, which was enjoined under the highest Oaths, and the very Thing for which most of my Brethren were deprived by the Privy Council; and it was only the Advantage, of my Circumstances (that there was no Body in my Parish to accuse me) that I was not deprived among the rest. Or why should I have refused to take the Oaths to King W. when it was declared by the Act enjoining them, that the Recusancy should make our Churches *ipso facto* to be vacant? Or why should I have refused to take the Oath of Allegiance in the end of Q. Anne's Reign, when it was enjoined

ed not only under the Penalty of Deprivation, but also under the Penalty of 500 *l. Sterl.* together with all those other Disabilities which the Law imposes upon Popish Recusants. And finally, why should I not have taken the Oaths to K. G. which was the only Thing could have given me any Measure of Security? I am sure that such a dangerous recusancy in all these Periods, was a Demonstration, *that I had not framed my politic Principles so, as they might not upon any Event disturb my Ease and Quiet.*

But you desire to know my Principles. *Ans.* In my former Pamphlet I fairly invited you to come and talk with me, and I should let you know what they were, which you may be assured I would not have done, if I had thought fit to publish them to the World in Print. I told you that I had always lived peaceably, with respect to every Government under which GOD had cast my Lot, and I tell you now that my Principles do not lead me to disturb any peaceable Government, under whose Protection I live; and so it is a Calumny to say, that I laboured any Manner of Way to disturb the Peace even of K. G's Government. I thought it always not only lawful but dutiful to pray for any Prince who was in full Possession of the Throne, under whose Protection I lived, whatsoever his Title to the Crown might be, which I judged agreeable to the Apostle's Precept, *Tim. II. 1, 2* but then I thought that such Prayers ought only to be accommodated to the end proposed by the Apostle, *viz.* That GOD would so sway their Hearts, and direct their Counsels, as we might *live a peaceable Life under them in Godliness and honesty.*

But you say, *I prayed for K. G. sometimes as my lawful Sovereign, and then a little after I prayed for the Pretender, which you judge to be Perfidiousness.* *Ans.* If this be Perfidiousness, then it is impossible to clear your own Party from extreme Perfidiousness, seeing they not only prayed for the late K. J. as their lawful Sovereign, but also made solemn Protestations of the greatest Loyalty unto him; and yet a little Time after betrayed him, cleaved to K. W. prayed for him again as their only lawful Sovereign, and cursed J. whom they had before prayed for as their lawful Sovereign, which indeed was extreme Perfidiousness. But as to me, that which you alledge against me, is only base and malicious Calumny; and if ever I have prayed for K. G. as my lawful Sovereign, and then for the Pretender, (as you call him) I refuse not to be branded with the hateful Character

of Perfidious. And whether I be abhorred by my own People, as you say, you may ask Mr. *Maxwell*, (whom your Presbytery hath placed in my Church) and perhaps he may from his own Experience, let you know the Truth of that Matter, better than your Informer hath done.

But farther you say, *I took the Oaths to the Government*, and therefore you judge me to be perfidious, because I prayed for the Pretender. But, Sir, if I had set up upon the Revolution Principles, that could never have proved me Perfidious; for we were told (as I remember) both by our Revolution Lawyers and Divines, that we were under no longer Obligation to any King, than we could live under his Protection; and you know *K. George* was not able to protect me when I prayed for *K. J.* For then I was as much under the Power of his Government, as I was before, or at present am, under the Power of *K. G's*. But howsoever you might approve of such Excuses when they were for you, yet I know that you are too well acquaint with that old Beast called *Halkerton's Cow*, to admit of them when they are against you; and therefore I tell you that it is a false and malicious Calumny, to say, *that I took the Oaths to the Government*; for (as I told you before) I took no Oath either to *K. W.* or *K. G.* neither took I the Abjuration prescribed in the end of *Q. Anne's* Regim. It is true that I took the Oaths to *Q. Anne* in the Beginning of her Reign, and perswaded others to take them also; but I did not thereby take an Oath to your Government: For tho *Q. Anne* was received by the Revolution Party, to the Possession of the Throne upon the Revolution Laws, yet I thought that she stood upon another Foot, and that (in the Circumstances which the Nations were at that Time) she had a better Title to ascend the Throne, than she had by the Revolution Laws. And now, having given you such an Account both of my Principles and Practices, with respect to the Government, as can be reasonably thought I should be at Freedom to do in this Juncture, you may consider them at your Leisure, and if you shall either think that my Principles are not agreeable to the Measures of my Duty, or my Practices inconsistent with my Principles, you may try your Hand upon them; whensoever your Malice may prompt you unto it, providing you do it so, as I may not be obliged to interfere with the Government for my Vindication.

In the next Place then, I come to consider the *third* Head of your Apology, containing a pretended Vindication of your

your Church Government, wherein you take the same Course with all new Sects and Heresies ; for you provoke us to come to the Holy Scriptures with you, and tell us that our Cause cannot abide the Light of G O D's Word ; but in the mean time we must take your Word, for the Meaning of those Places of Scripture, which you adduce for your new Scheme, and follow your Glosses of them, contrary to the unanimous Sense of all the Primitive Fathers and Doctors of the Church, or else you cry out that we are blind, and our Hearts byassed by Prejudice, whereas it is plain that the Presumption of this must ly much more against you, than against us, seeing you set up a new Scheme, which (as your selves must confels) was not known in the Church for many hundred Years before you set it up, and consequently (as I said in the End of my former Pamphlet) it was necessary that you should have brought a very clear and undeniable Evidence of your Title to that Government which you have usurped, or else the World hath Reason to look upon you as *Thieves and Robbers, who have not entred in by the Door*, as our Saviour says, *John 10. 1.* Which cannot be said of us who set up no new Scheme; but follow those Measures which have obtained in the Church of G O D from the Beginning. G O D did originally set up the Government of the *Jewish Church*, (which was the first National Church that he had upon Earth, and which was to be continued until the coming of the *Messiah*, and so until the Christian Church should come in its stead ;) I say, G O D set up the Government of the *Jewish Church* in a High-priest, with inferior Priests and *Levites*. Now tho the High-priest had some typical Privileges, as he was an eminent Type of Christ, yet it is plain that there was nothing typical in the Government of the Church which G O D had settled in him, with his inferior Priests and *Levites*. And when Christ came and founded the Christian Church, leaving his Apostles behind him cloathed with full Power to go forth into all the World, to convert the Nations and bring them in-to his Church, I think it also very plain, that he instituted no new Form of Government for the ruling and preserving Order in this his Church, but left the first Institution in its full Force, as it was originally settled by the Law of G O D, and accordingly we have not only plain Steps (as I have shewed in my two former Pamphlets) of the Apostles adhering to the same Scheme, in the Epistles to the seven Churches of *Asia*. and in those to *Timothy* and *Titus*, but we have the same Thing

also confirmed unto us by all the primitive Fathers (who constantly mention the three Orders of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons ;) but especially by St. *Hierom* (whom you take to be your Friend) who in his Epistle to *Evagrius* (as I have also shewed in my forementioned Pamphlets) doth plainly tell us, that the Apostles in settling the Government of the Christian Church, took their Pattern from the old Testament, and accordingly, that the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons ought to claim to themselves the same Stations in the Christian Church, that the High-priest, the inferior Priests and *Levites*, had in the Temple. All this I told you before, and vindicated it from your Exceptions ; and therefore in the describing of my Scheme, you should have begun with it and refuted it, together with that which I said in Confirmation of it. But that was not easy for you to do, and therefore you thought fit to pass by it, and fall to your ordinary Arguments and bitter Excursions against us again ; wherefore you must pardon me not to swell my Pamphlet by tracing you in every one of those Particulars, which would be both a fruitless, and endless Work, for me to do.

But because you do with a strange Kind of Confidence alledge, *Pag. 103, That the Scripture quite fails us, and gives deadly Wounds to our Cause, and it is upon this Account (you say) that we shun its Light, and flee to the Darkness of Antiquity to cover the Nakedness of our Cause, that you find very few Citations from Scripture in our Pleadings for it* : Because, I say, you do with so strange a Confidence alledge this against us, I shall first desire the Reader seriously to consider, what Strength there is in our Scripture Proof of the Scheme of our Government by Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, and then shall proceed to consider what Weight there is in that which you alledge from the Scriptures, for our Presbyterian Parity. As to the *first*, I desire the Reader may be pleased to consider, that we have truly greater Evidence from the Scriptures, for the Scheme of our Government, than we have for the Institution of the Lord's Day. Now, I desire that I may not be mistaken, as if I should think, or say, that our Evidence for this is not sufficient ; (for I have plainly asserted the Sufficiency of it, in my Discourse upon the fourth Commandment) but I say our Evidence is fully as good, and better, for our Government of the Church : For (as I said before) we have the Institution of it in the Law of *Moses*, not abrogated, but left in full Force by our Saviour, and we have plain Steps of

of its having been confirmed by the Apostles, in the Epistles to the seven Churches, and in those to *Timothy* and *Titus*, which (considering that it was to be a Matter of constant and uninterrupted Practice in the Church) gives us as much Evidence for it as we can reasonably desire, especially seeing we are told by the Fathers of the Church, that the Apostles settled it after the Pattern of the Old Testament. Now let us compare our Evidence for the Lord's Day with this, and as we find no other Institution of it but that of the Jewish Sabbath, or rest of the seventh Day, so the Steps which we have of it in the Scriptures of the New Testament, are much more obscure than those which we have of the Government of the Church, for we have only the Lord's Day once simply mentioned (without telling us what it was *Rev. 1. 10.* And that the Disciples met together, and Paul preached to them on the first Day of the Week, (without telling us, whether it was the ordinary Day of their Meeting, or whether it was the Lord's Day) *Acts 13. 7.* And again the Corinthians were exhorted to lay up by them their Almshouses, upon the first Day of the Week (without telling us whether it was the Lord's Day, or whether it was the ordinary Time of their Meeting) *1 Cor. 16. 2.* And this is all that we have of the Lord's Day, in the Scriptures. It is true that this being a Matter of continual Practice in the Church, wherein it was impossible that she could be mistaken, the Histories of the Church, and Writings of the Fathers, together with those Hints of it which we have in the Scriptures, give us sufficient Light into it, but without those all that we have of it in the Scriptures, would give us no Certainty at all. And now, I think it must be confessed by every ingenuous and unbiassed Person, that as the Steps which we have of our Government, in the Scriptures, are more clear than those which we have for the Lord's Day, so it was as much a Matter of continual Practice in the Church, and fully as well confirmed by the Histories of the Church, and Testimonies of the Fathers.

But I know you say, *This Practice of the Church with respect to its Government, was not from the Beginning.* But what told you this? For I am sure you neither had it from the Histories of the Church, nor the Testimony of any of the Fathers, and I have sufficiently proved in my two former Pamphlets, that such a Change, as you pretend to have been made so early in the Church, is incredible and morally impossible, and I must say that they want not a good Stock

Credulity who can believe it. It is a dangerous Thing to innovate any of those Things which we find to be settled by ancient Practice in the Church; upon such Conjectures as every new Sect is ready to frame to themselves, and to give Scripture glossed by themselves for their Innovations: And you must pardon me to say that many of them do it with more Probability than you do. The Anabaptists plead (after the same Manner) that the Baptism of Infants was not the Practice of the Church from the beginning, and we have not the half of the Evidence for it either from the Scriptures, or Writings of the Fathers, which we have for the Government of the Church: And were it not a brave Thing to unhinge that ancient Practice of the Church upon such Conjectures?

But you tell us you have plain Demonstration out of the Scriptures, *It is as clear as the Light*, &c. Which strange and unaccountable Confidence puts me in Mind of the old Scottish Proverb, *As the Fool thinks, the Bell clinks*. It is very strange that you should be so clear sighted as to find Demonstration for your novel Parity in the Scriptures, and yet all the holy and learned Fathers (many of whom were Martyrs for Christianity) should have been so blind that they could see nothing like it. But however, seeing you make such a Noise with your Scripture Evidence (tho I have sufficiently answered all before, and you do but tell over the same Thing again in other Words, and by a different Method, yet) I shall be so complaisant as to consider it a little farther. And I find that in this your *Apology* you lay the Stress of it chiefly upon those two Things, 1. Upon Christ's leaving behind him twelve Apostles, of equal Authority and Power, and upon St. Paul's Exhortation to the Elders of *Ephesus*, *Acts 20*. As to the *First*, You think that you find Presbyterian Parity plainly in the Parity of the Apostles, who (as you pretend) acted in a Presbytery together at *Jerusalem*, together with the rest of the Elders that were there. But you take no Notice of what I said you (in my *Answer to your Parochial Bishop's Letter*) said the Apostles were the Representatives of the Catholick Church, over which there can be no visible Monarch or universal Pastor, and that all which can be concluded from the Equality of the Apostles, is only an equality among the several Bishops of the Catholick Church: And that I sufficiently answered all those Scriptures which you alledged for Proof that the Apostles left behind them a Number of Pastors at *Jerusalem*, who continued to act in a Presbytery together

gether ; which answers you have never offered to refute, but still bring the same Places again with the same Confidence as if I had never answered them ; although I had told you that after the Reader had considered my Answers, he might find Reason to laugh at your vain Confidence and Boasting in the pretended Evidence of them.

And whereas you say, *That I made use of the Apostle James his being Bishop of Jerusalem, as a Scripture Argument to prove Episcopacy* ; you are mistaken, for I only made Use of it for solving some of your Objections, where it was enough for me to suppose it, and I was not obliged to prove it, although I had said enough to prove it also : For (beside the unanimous Voice of the Ancients affirming it) I told you that as he is plainly distinguished as a Person of superior Dignity to the rest of the Elders, in that Place which you cited, *Acts 21. from v. 18.* So he plainly appears to have been President of the Apostolical Council, *Acts 15.* (notwithstanding that *Peter* was present) unto which he could have had no Manner of Title if he had not been Bishop of the Place which together with the universal Consent of the Fathers and Histories of the Church, I judge to be a sufficient Proof of that Matter of Fact.

But you pretend to prove that *St. James* could not be constituted Bishop of *Jerusalem* ; so that the Ancients have in that Matter imposed a Falshood upon the succeeding Generation. And I must say that any Man who will set up to disprove a Fact of that Kind, whereof we have such Insinuation in the Scriptures, and which is so confirmed by Testimony of the Ancients, would need either a very hard Forehead, or a very plain Demonstration to support him ; and therefore let us see what Demonstration you bring for it.

And I find you tell us, *That James was an Apostle who had as ample Power as any of the rest, who had the whole World for their Diocese or Charge* : And therefore you suppose it is ridiculous to limit any of them, or restrict them to any City, Province, or particular Charge, and you tell us no Power on Earth could do it. Unto which I answer, That I acknowledge *James* his Power to have been as ample as any of the rest, and that it is true also that Christ gave his Apostles a Commission to go forth into all the World, and teach all Nations and make Disciples of them, according to that of *Mat. 28.* and 19^s which you cite. But as it was not possible for every Apostle to go into all Nations, so it is not to be thought that there was any Obligation upon every one of them to

it, but they were only to go or stay as they were directed by the Spirit: And therefore if the Spirit directed any particular Person among them to fix his Residence in any particular Place or Province for propagating the Gospel in it, the Performance of the Work which was enjoined to him there was certainly a dutiful executing of the Commission given to him by Christ, even as truly as if he had travelled as much as *St. Paul* did. You confess that it was very proper that one or other of the Apostles should stay pretty close at *Jerusalem*, to fortify this Church against the Assaults of the learned Rabbies, &c. And why might it not be as proper for one to stay there, as for one or other to be coming and going for that End? I am sure that in other Cases the Experience of the World shews that any Man, of equal Abilities, who hath his Residence fixt in a Place for the doing of any important Work in it, hath by much the Advantage of those who only come and go to it. Now it is plain that the having the Charge of *Jerusalem* (the Mother Church, unto which there was so great a Resort of Strangers from almost all Corners of the World, especially at the great Feast of the Passover, and where the *Jewish Sanhedrim* was) behoved to be of vast Importance. So that the fixing of *St. James's* Residence there, and giving him the Charge of that Church, was so far from being a Limitation, that it was rather an enlarging of his Power and Dignity beyond all the rest of the Apostles. But you say, *Tho James stayed sometime here at Jerusalem, will never prove that he was Prelate of this Church, more than Peter or any other of the Apostles who also sojourned there, seeing all the Apostles had equal Power over the Church of Jerusalem.* When James was there alone (you say) you doubt not but he presided in the Meetings of the Ministers, as being the only Apostle and eldest Pastor there; yet we never hear of his assuming any greater Power among them than the meanest Pastor in the City, but acting in Conjunction with them. Now this (tho the common Voice of your Party) is a Parcel of the most impudent and groundless Stuff, that ever dropt from any Man's Pen who pretended to Reason: Is it not a strange thing how any Man should presume to set up against the Fathers and Histories of the Church upon no better Grounds than these? Tho *Peter* and others of the Apostles did sometimes sojourn at *Jerusalem*, we may be indeed sure that there could be no Ground to think that they were any of them relates of the Place; but *St. James* making his constant Residence there, was no mean Argument of his having a

Peculiar Trust and Charge in that Place. And where, I Pray you, find you St. James sojourning any where out of Jerusalem? Surely no where, but either in your Head, or the Heads of some of your Party. But you say, *When he was alone there, you doubt not but he presided in the Meetings of the Ministers, as being the only Apostle and eldest Minister there.* But pray, Sir, where find you him in any Meetings of Ministers there, except only in that Place of *Acts 21, 18.* (where the Elders were plainly waiting upon him, being called together to meet with S. Paul;) And that of *Acts 15.* where all the Apostles and Elders were gathered together; and there indeed we find him not only present but President also, which is no mean Argument for his being Bishop of the Place. But you say, *We never hear of his assuming greater Power among them than the meanest Pastor of the City;* and this is another Piece of true Presbyterian Confidence, for (as I have said) the only judicial Meeting wherein we find him present, is that of *Acts 15.* And there we find him taking more upon him than any of the Apostles, and consequently much more than any of the rest of the Pastors or Elders, who are only mentioned as present, but nothing more of them, save only their Concurrence with the Apostolical Sentence; which is no more than what is ascribed unto all the faithful Brethren there present also. But you alledge for your Assertion that Place of *Acts 11, 22.* though you know very well that I have given you such Answer to it (in my *Answer to your Parochial Bishop's Letter*, Page 29.) that you have not thought fit yet to refute; and yet you are not ashamed to bring it in again here, which is the common Custom of your Party. For howsoever your Arguments or Answers be refuted, you are not ashamed to bring them again upon the next Turn without so much as mentioning of what hath been said against them.

After this you have a deal of Stuff which stands in need of no Refutation, and it is not worth my Pains to swell my Pamphlet with it: Only there is one Assertion that must take notice of, upon Account of the strange Fraudulency that is in it; for you tell us, *That Ignatius, our supposed Patron, in his Epistle to the Magnes. Pag. 33. Voss. Edit. says That the Presbyters succeeded in the Place of the Bench of the Apostles And in his Epistle to the Trall. Pag. 48 and 50, exhorts to be subject to the Prsbyters as the Apostles of Jesus Christ.* Where you craftily set down that Part of those Passages, which being separated from the rest going before

seems to make for you, but purposely conceal the other Part, which sets all manifestly against you: So that for Answer I need say no more but set down the whole Passages intire, and then every vulgar Reader may plainly perceive that you had done much better not to have mentioned them. The first Passage then in the Epistle to the *Magnes.* is, *I admonish you that you study to do all Things in godly Concord, the Bishop presiding in the Place of GOD, and the Presbyters in Place of the Bench of the Apostles.* Again, the first Place in the Epistle to the Trall. is, *Reverence the Bishop as Jesus Christ the Son of the Father, and the Presbyters as the Council of GOD and the Conjunction of the Apostles.* And the second Passage in the Epistle to the Trall. is, *Beware of such, and let this be from you, not puffed up, being inseparable from GOD, Jesus Christ, your Bishop, and the Orders of the Apostles.* And now, I think, I may leave it to the Judgment of every vulgar Reader, (except those of your Party) whether those Passages do not plainly overturn your Parity instead of establishing it. And as to that other Passage which you cite from *Irineus*, when you have refuted those Answers which our Authors (and particularly Dr. *Monro* in his *Inquiry into the new Opinions*) give to your Arguments taken from the homonymy of the Words *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, I shall answer it; and till then you must pardon me not to swell my Pamphlet with it.

And now in the next Place, as to the Apostle's Exhortation unto the Elders of *Ephesus*, *Acts* xx. from v. 28. with which you make such a Pudding, setting it forth with a great deal of Ostentation, as having the plainest Evidence in it for your beloved Parity; it is so far from having any Thing of that Evidence in it which you pretend, that I protest I can see no such Thing in it at all. You do indeed set it forth with so much Confidence, that it is no great Wonder you so impose upon your own deluded People, that they take your Word for it; for you would (by the strange Confidence of your Assertion, and your solemn giving Thanks to Almighty GOD for giving you such Evidence as you have in it) almost tempt a poor modern Episcopalian like me to suspect my own Blindness. But when I consider that I have all the learned and holy Fathers of the Church for my Companions, I must resume some good Measure of Assurance, and say, that whatsoever you may pretend, yet certainly it can make nothing to your Purpose. For therein we have the Apostle only exhorting the Presbyters of *Ephesus* to take heed

heed to themselves, and to all the Flock over which the Holy Ghost
 had made them Overseers (or Bishops as you call it.) And who
 doubts but this is the proper Work of Presbyters? If we
 had been questioning whether the Order of Presbyters be
jure divino, this had been indeed a very proper Place to
 have objected against us; but you must pardon me to say,
 that I find nothing that favours your Cause in it. But you
 say, he not only exhorts them to take heed to the Flock, but
 also to feed the Church of G Q D. Now, you say, that he
 thereby commits to them the whole Power of Bishops; for to
 feed imports both the Power of Doctrine and Discipline. *Ans.*
 I see no Reason to think that to feed doth import the Power
 of Discipline; I confess the Office of a Pastor doth include
 both the Power of Doctrine and Discipline; for he cannot
 well feed his Flock except he rule them also: And therefore
 I grant that there was as much of the Ruling Power commit-
 ted to your *Ephesian* Presbyters or Bishops (as you call them),
 as was competent to their inferior Office: But that they had
 the supreme Power of Discipline committed to them, I deny.
 But, you say, *It is unreasonable to deny this without offering
 Proof for it, and thereby I do only expose my self and my Cause.*
Ans. When I am answering your pretended Proofs from
 Scripture, when I see nothing of what you assert in them,
 it is enough for me to deny; especially seeing I have the
 Authority of the Fathers and Histories of the Church on
 my Side, and the Probation is incumbent upon you. But
 in effect I have not only denied this, but proved it also, from
 St. Paul's reserving the supreme Power of Discipline in his
 own Hand, in the Case of the incestuous Person of *Corinth*;
 And afterwards that this Power was committed to others
 who were settled Presidents of the Churches, (and particu-
 larly of the Church of *Ephesus*) I did prove from the Epistles
 to the Angels of the Seven Churches of *Asia*, and vindicated
 my Probation from the Cavils of your Party, unto which
 you have not thought fit as yet to give any particular Re-
 ply; because (it seems) you find it easier to return again
 to the old Cant of your Party. I proved the same Thing
 also from the Instructions given by St. Paul to *Timothy*,
 whereby (as I shewed you *Pag. 36* of my *Ans.* to the *Paroch.*
Bishop's Letter) there was plainly a Negative given him
 over your Presbyters or Bishops (as you call them) of *E-*
phesus, which were made by the Holy Ghost: So that it
 may sufficiently appear to any unbyassed Persons, that there
 were other Bishops of superior Power and Dignity consti-
 tuted

tuted by the Holy Ghost also : And consequently that your four Syllogisms (for the Defence of which you appear so sanguine) are still to be reckoned Sophisms ; and that the *Major*s of them (understood as universal Propositions) are still false; and that there can be no such Conclusion drawn from them.

But, you say, *those were the Apostle's last Orders to this Church with respect to the Government.* *Ans.* Those are neither the Apostle's last Orders to this Church, neither is there any Thing here that concerns the Nature of Government at all. It was indeed revealed to him that they should see his Face no more, but he was not so to leave them as to take no farther Care of them, or to give them no farther Instructions; for it was a long Time after that he wrote his Epistle to them from *Rome*. And that those were either his Thoughts, or his last Thoughts to them with respect to the Government (as you alledge) is affirmed altogether without Ground; for there is not a Word of the Government in all his Exhortation, nor any Thing that hath any Similitude of a Reference to it. But farther you say, *this Settlement was made in Timothy's Presence.* But I pray what Settlement do you dream of? For there is not a Word of a Settlement, nor any Thing that hath so much as a Likeness unto it in this Place. The Apostle doth indeed exhort the Presbyters, who had been before settled in *Ephesus*, to take heed to themselves and to the Charge over the People of GOD, which the Holy Ghost had committed unto them; but there is not any Thing like a Settlement either of Persons or Things in his Exhortation : And seeing (as you confess) this is the greatest Evidence that you have in the Scripture for your novel Parity, I do protest that I know not any of the new Sects, which have not a better Plea from the Scriptures, than you have. And whereas you say, *This Exhortation was given in Timothy's Presence;* it is nothing to your Purpose; for tho *Timothy* had been Bishop of *Ephesus* at that Time, I do not see why the Presbyters might not have received all this Exhortation from the Apostle; especially seeing he was going to leave them for a Time, and wait upon the Apostle to *Jerusalem*. But I have told you before, that we do not say that *Timothy* was at that Time Bishop of *Ephesus*, but that the Apostle as yet superintended that Church himself, and kept the supreme Power of the Government in his own Hand; which you endeavour to redargue as follows.

First;

First, You inquire, Why the Apostle Paul delayed to settle Diocesan Bishops in the Churches for so long a Time, and why he was behind the rest of the Apostles in this Matter? Ans. I told you the Reason before why he did it not sooner, (viz. because the Churches were not grown so numerous as to stand in need of the particular Superintendency of a Diocesan Bishop, and the Apostle as yet, was well able to do all that Business himself;) and you mentioned it your self in that Account which you pretend to give of my Scheme. But it seems you thought not fit to mention it here, lest it might have put a little Stop to the Career of your fervent Excursions upon this Head. And as to his being behind the rest of the Apostles in that Matter, I mentioned nothing of it. It is true I said that St. James was constituted Bishop of Jerusalem from the Beginning: But as we have Reason to think that to have been done by the immediate Direction of the Spirit, so likewise with the Consent of all the Apostles.

But, Secondly, you say, According to this Scheme you must hold that the Church of Ephesus, and other Churches which Paul planted, were not fully constituted and provided with Church Officers necessary for them, for a great many Years: And during all that Time the Apostle Paul acted the Part of a Prelate to them, by reserving the Power of Ordination in his own Hands, and assumed a Negative over all those Presbyteries in Matters of Discipline and Government. Now, Sir, (you say) do you think that it is sufficient to convince us Presbyterians of the Truth of those Things, to give us no more Proof? And is it reasonable for you to require us to receive all your weak and ridiculous Assertions as certainly true, unless we shall put our selves to the unreasonable Trouble of disproving them? But, Sir, you may remember that you was told those Things in Answer to your Objections, and consequently the disproving of them was incumbent upon you: And it is a hard Thing that you should presume to invade a Settlement which had obtained so many hundred Years in the Church, (and of which the Beginning cannot truly be referred to any other Period but that of the Apostles,) with no better Warrant than such trifling Objections as you bring against it; seeing there is nothing of such Antiquity against which far greater Scruples may not be raised, not excepting even the Fundamentals of Christianity it self. And (as I told you in the end of my last Pamphlet) nothing ought to be admitted in this Case, but plain Demonstration, without which it is certainly a Piece of the greatest Impudence for you to presume to at-

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tack our ancient Settlement, and the ridiculous ungrounded Assertions do plainly ly on your Side. But nevertheless I did not say that the Apostle kept the supreme Government of those Churches in his own Hand, without Proof, as you may see from *Pag.* 56 and 57 of my Reflections, as you call them.

But however, you say, you will condescend once more to disprove that which was incumbent upon us to prove; and so you undertake to disprove it from the forecited Place of *Acts xx.* wherein, you say, *We have the last Settlement of the Government of the Church of Ephesus, and a Platform which the Apostle designed should be perpetual and unalterable there, and in all other Churches.* And I must say this is a strange Piece of Confidence, to assert that there is such a Settlement there, where (as I said before) there is not so much as a Similitude of any Settlement, either of Persons, or Things. But you say you will make it evident, from the following Considerations, *viz.* *First, The Apostle gave the Ministers of Ephesus as it were his dying Thoughts at this Time, telling them that he was to see their Faces no more; upon which they took a solemn and final Farewell of him with many Tears.* And it is most just to think, that this was the proper Time for settling the Government of that Church, and that accordingly he now gave them his last Thoughts concerning it. *Ans.* I have shewed before, that tho the Apostle had a Revelation that they should see his Face no more, yet those were not his dying Thoughts to the Church of Ephesus: And tho they had been his dying Thoughts; yet, as it is too much Presumption for any Person, to limit the Spirit of GOD, to any Time which he thinks most proper; so if we should suppose it necessary that the Apostle should give them Directions here, concerning the particular Form of Government which was to take Place in the Church, it would militate as much against Presbytery as against Episcopacy, seeing there is not one Word here of any Kind of Government, or the least Similitude of any Settlement.

But, *Secondly*, you say, *Paul here did not only take his final Leave of the Ephesian Presbyters, but also preached his farewell Sermon, wherein he told them of their Duties to the Flock, but not a Word of a Duty they owed to any superior Bishop: Nay, on the Contrary, he commits the whole Care of that Church to them, as the sole Bishops thereof, &c.* *Ans.* There be two Things in this Paragraph, upon which you lay the Stress of your Reasoning for your pretended Settlement, *viz.* 1. *That he*

told them their Duty to the Flock, but not a Word of a Duty to any superior Bishop. 2. That he commits the whole Care of that Church to them, as to the sole Bishops thereof. As to the First, What Consequence, I pray, will you draw from it? Will you conclude, that therefore the Apostle had no Design ever to settle a Diocesan Bishop, but did actually settle Presbytery there? Surely, this Conclusion will by no Means follow from your Premises. The Apostle cannot be thought to be giving them in this Exhortation, a Sum of their whole Duty, either to the Flock or their Superiors; for he mentions no particular Duties even with relation to their Flocks, but only gives them a general Exhortation to Care and Watchfulness in their Stations, from the Consideration of the Hazard that they would be in from the Emissaries of the Devil, and not a Word of any Thing like a Settlement of Government. But 2dly, you say, *He commits the whole Care and Government of that Church unto them, as unto the sole Bishops thereof.* Ans. There is no such Matter at all. They had been settled as Presbyters, or (as you call them) Bishops there before this Time, and the Apostle here only exhorts them to Diligence and Watchfulness in their Duty. And that he committed the whole Care of that Church to them, as the sole Bishops thereof, is said without any Ground, and is plainly contrary to what the Apostle saith of himself, 2 Cor. xi. 28. *That the Care of all the Churches lay upon him.* And truly (whatsoever Power the Apostle committed to them before, when he settled them Presbyters of Ephesus) it is plain, that he commits no Power to them here at all, but only exhorts them to Watchfulness and Diligence in that Trust, which had been formerly committed to them.

But further you say, *He tells them that he shunned not to declare the whole Counsel of GOD unto them; so that if their Subjection to a superior Bishop had been any Part of the Counsel of GOD, the Apostle had not kept it back from them.* Ans. This is indeed a rare Kind of Reasoning, and it is strange to see any Man of Reason to be so blinded with Prejudice and Faction, as to think that there is any Strength in it. And truly if I should have reasoned after that Manner for Episcopacy, I should have been deservedly flouted by you. What! will you say that the Apostle in this very Place declared the whole Counsel of GOD unto them? Nay, surely that would be intolerably ridiculous; and therefore your Reasoning must be fully as ridiculous, and good for nothing, but to deceive Children, or poor simple People, who

will be ready to take all upon your Word ; but you cannot think that all your Readers will be such.

Again you tell us, *That if ever Paul was to appoint them a superior Bishop, now was the fit Season for it, &c.* *Ans.* It is no small Presumption, (as I said before) for us to limit the Spirit of GOD to those Times which we think most proper and fit. The *Ephesians* were still under the Apostle's own Care, and stood in need of no other Bishop for the Time ; but that can be no Argument why he should not give them one afterwards, when he could no more govern them after that Manner, by his own Care.

But then lastly you say, *That the Presbyterian Government instituted at Ephesus, is not the Device of Man, but the Appointment of the Holy Ghost, as it is called v. 28. and consequently was to be of fixed Continuance : For to say that the Constitution was imperfect, and to be changed afterward into Prelacy, upon Schisms arising, is not only to reproach the Apostle's Faithfulness and Infallibility, but also to charge the Wisdom of the Holy Ghost, with Deficiency and Imperfection.* *Ans.* There is not the least Step of settling Presbyterian Government either here, (as I have told you before,) or in any other Place of Scripture. And as to what you say of the changing of the Government from Presbytery to Episcopacy upon the arising of Schisms, I told you (*Pag. 58. of my Reflections*, as you call them,) That I never said any such Thing, but that the Government of the Church was Episcopal from the Beginning, (tho it had been no ways inconsistent with the Wisdom of the Holy Ghost to have carried on the Policy of the Church gradually unto Perfection, as the Church it self increased.) And (as I told you) although these Divisions mentioned by *St. Hierom*, might have given Occasion to the Apostles to have hastened the Settling of Diocesan Bishops in the Churches of the Gentiles, yet there was no Change made thereby in the Government ; neither were the Presbyters thereby deprived of any Thing of that Power which they formerly enjoyed under the Government of the Apostles themselves. So that all your Reasoning upon this Head is vain and frivolous. And, I am confident, that the judicious Reader may clearly discern from what I have said, that all those ample Pretensions which you have to a clear Institution of Presbyterian Government, (either in this or any other Place of the holy Scriptures,) are nothing else, but the groundless Dreams of factious Spirits : So that I may justly return your Exhortations upon your self.

But I find you have some farther Objections against Timothy's being Bishop of Ephesus, (which I have asserted in my former Pamphlets) and therefore I shall proceed to consider them. And 1. you say, *That if ever there was a proper Season for constituting Timothy Bishop of Ephesus, now was the Time, when Paul is taking his leave of that Church.* But I have answered to this before, and therefore shall not swell my Pamphlet with any more of it.

2dly, You say, *That Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians, which he wrote to that Church from Rome, long after his being with them at Miletus (and likewise long after his first Epistle to Timothy, from whence you seek to prove Timothy's Episcopacy,) gives not the least Hint of his altering the Government, &c.* Ans, I confess that the Apostle's Epistle to the Ephesians, was written after his being with them at Miletus; but you know I deny that his first Epistle to Timothy was written before his Epistle to the Ephesians; the Contrary of which I shewed Pag. 74. of my last Pamphlet (according to the excellent Dr. Pearson's Scheme,) and therefore, I have just Reason to complain, that you should have drawn an Argument from such a Supposition against me, until you had first proved it, and refuted Dr. Pearson's Opinion. But you say, *The Apostle sent Tychicus to them with the Epistle, whom he recommends to them as a faithful Minister, and a comfortable Assistant in their Affairs, but not a Word either of, or to Timothy their supposed Bishop, &c.* Ans. Tychicus was a very fit Messenger to comfort them, by acquainting them with the Apostle's Affairs, and Timothy was not as yet constituted Bishop of that Church, as you know I have told you before; and therefore by this Argument you only beat the Air. But you say, *The Apostle in mentioning the Church Officers which Christ hath appointed in his House, for the Work of the Ministry, and edifying of the Church, makes no mention of Bishops.* Ans. You have been often told by our Writers, that Bishops are contained under the Head of Apostles, as succeeding to the ordinary Apostolick Power of Government.

But Thirdly, you say, *It is manifest from Paul's very Epistles to Timothy, that he was not a Prelate, nor at all Bishop of Ephesus, and among many Evidences of it you bid me take those following; 1. Paul in his Epistle to Timothy makes Presbyters the Rulers of the Church, and makes Bishop and Presbyter but one and the same Office, as is plain from 1 Tim. 3. 2, 5. and Chap. 4. 14, and Chap. 5. 17, &c.* Ans. We do not deny to the Presbyters their Share of ruling the Church,

and (as you have been many Times told) the Identity of the Office of a Bishop and Presbyter cannot be concluded from the homonymy of the Names. This may indeed give a better Plea to those who are only for the Identity of the Order, but it can never infer the Identity of the Office, which is so plainly distinguished both in Scripture and the Writings of all the Fathers. It is true I do not plead for the Identity of the Order in this Case, (as I told you in my former Pamphlets) but I do still with the greatest Reason assert, that there is no Inconsistency betwixt the Identity of the Order, and Distinction of the Offices, which I illustrated (and I thought I could not do it better than) from a Passage of *St. Hierom*, whom you take to be your Friend. But you say in your Opinion, *There was never a Man more unhappy of a Proof of Illustration of a Point than I am; for by it I contradict myself, and overthrow the Cause I am pleading.* And if it were so as you say, I should have been very unhappy indeed, that could not see this before you told it to me. But saying is one Thing, and proving is another, and therefore let us see how you prove it. And so you say, *1mo, I grant the Arches of Ecclesiastical Election are new and distinct Officers of a superior Dignity above the rest. This (you say) I say of Archdeacons, and consequently I must say the same of Archbishops; tho formerly I had asserted that all Bishops are equal jure Divino.* But truly, Sir, when I consider this pretended Contradiction, I find that it is only in your Head, and not in any Thing that I have said; for I never said that any of those *Arches* which you mention were *jure Divino*: And it seems there must be a strange squint in the Eye of your Mind, that should see any Thing like a Contradiction betwixt all Bishops being equal *jure Divino*, and Archbishops or Archdeacons being unequal *jure Ecclesiastico*. But in Effect I did not assert any thing concerning the *Arches*; save only that the Archdeacon was *de facto* a distinct Office from the simple Deacon, (which is unquestionably true;) but *quo jure* he was so, I said nothing, but only took the Example as it was given me by *St. Hierom*, to prove the Possibility of having distinct Offices in the same Order. And I think I might have brought an Instance to that Purpose from Secular, as well as Ecclesiastical Offices, (of which I could have given you many;) for if it be possible in one Case, it is certainly possible in all. But it seems you will have an Instance to prove it in Ecclesiastical Offices which are *jure Divino*; and I will gratify you with one of those also, which I hope you will not controvert to be such, and

and it answers exactly to the Case before us. The High-priest among the *Jews* was certainly invested with a distinct Office from the rest of the Priests *jure Divino*, and yet he was a Priest of the same Order with the rest of the Priests; for when the Apostle *Heb. 7. 11.* is speaking of Christ's Priesthood after the Order of *Melchisedeck*, and opposing it unto the *Levitical* Priesthood, he reckons all the *Levitical* Priests to be of the Order of *Aaron*. And now by that which I have said to your first pretended Reason, I have sufficiently answer'd the other two also; and therefore your Exclamations against me may justly be returned upon your self. And then as to those Divines, whom you cite as making Episcopacy only a Degree in the same Office, and not a distinct Office in the same Order; it is plainly nothing else but a Logomachy, and all one Thing upon the Matter; for a different Degree will always make a distinct Office.

And now I return to your Reasons whereby you labour to prove, *That it is manifest, even from St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy, that he was not Bishop of Ephesus.* And so *Secondly*, you say, *It is evident that the Power which Timothy exercised in the Church of Ephesus, he did it not as the fixed Bishop thereof, but as an Evangelist*; which you endeavour to prove from *2 Tim. 4. 5. Do the Work of an Evangelist.* *Ans.* Tho the Apostle exhorts *Timothy* to do the Work of an Evangelist, yet that can never prove that he was no fixed Bishop; because all the primitive Bishops, before the Conversion of the Nations to Christianity, were Evangelists; and the Duty of an Evangelist was at that time the greatest Part of their Work: But having Work enough of that Kind within their own Diocese, they did not wander abroad for the doing of it, but stayed close at Home, labouring to convert their own People. And so it is reported of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, that when he was obliged by the Church, (contrary to his own Inclinations,) to enter to the Bishoprick of *Neo-cesarea*, he found but seventeen Christians in all that large City, and the Territories of it; but such were his assiduous Labours in the Work of an Evangelist among them, that when he was removed by Death, he left only seventeen Pagans there.

Thirdly, You say, *Timothy exercised as much Power over other Churches where he came, as he did over Ephesus; as is clear from the 2 Epist. to Tim. where he hath the same Directions given him about his Ministerial Work, as in the first; tho he was not at Ephesus when this Epistle was written, as your Commentator Dr. Whitby clearly proves.* *Ans.* All this Argument

ment proceeds upon a false Supposition, viz. That *Timothy* was not at *Ephesus* when the second Epistle was written, which neither you nor Dr. *Whitby* will ever be able to prove. I have answer'd all Dr. *Whitby's* Objections in my last Pamphlet, Pag. 72. and 74. and particularly that from which he concludes this, in his *Comment.* on 2 *Tim.* 4. 12. But you are not ashamed to bring still the same Objections, without offering to refute the Answers which have been given to them. After this you have a great deal of Stuff, of which it is not worth my Pains to take Notice. But then, you say, *That the 1 Epist. to Tim. was written before his Congress with the Ephesians at Miletus, &c.* And so for answer to Dr. *Pearson's* Reasons and mine, you direct me to *Witsius* his *Meletemata Leidensia*, Sect. 12. *De vinculis Pauli apud Romam*; in which you say, *I will find all most satisfyingly answered.* Where, I find, that you have still a strange Partiality for every Thing that favours your own Side, so as to think that all is fully satisfying, though there be nothing truly satisfying in it. The Gentleman whom you mention hath no such Fondness for his own Performance; for he tells us it was with some Difficulty that he was satisfied himself, and after all, his Words will import nothing like a full Satisfaction. For, 1. He confesseth the Generality both of the Ancients, and later Interpreters, to be against his Opinion, (*veterum plerique & recentiorum sine numero*) among whom he mentions, particularly *Ludovicus Capellus*, and Dr. *Pearson*. And he thinks it sufficient to give Dr. *Pearson's* Reasons for all; and then he brings in those Authors whom you mention for his own Opinion, with this Preface, *attamen non obstante veterum consensu, totq; rationum pondere, i. e. But notwithstanding of the Consent of the Ancients, and the Weight of so many Reasons*: And then he tells us what Answers those Authors give to Dr. *Pearson's* Reasons. And after all he gives us his own Judgment (*Parag. 8.*) in these Words, *Mea si desideretur επικρισις, fateor equidem aliquandiu me in rationum conflictu animi ancipitem habuisse, quæ quibus anteponenda forent. Omnibus tamen expensis, non dissimulo eo me magis propendere, ut descriptionem hujus Epistolæ, ad priora Pauli apud Romam vincula, referendam esse arbitrer.* Where you may see the learned Author gives his Judgment pretty modestly in that particular, considering that he was a Professor in a Presbyterian University. He confesseth that he was for some Time doubtful what Side to choose, but after that he had thoroughly weighed the Reasons on both Sides, he will not (he says) dissemble, that

that he inclines more to refer the writing of that *Epistle* to the Time of Paul's first Imprisonment at Rome. From which Words, we may plainly see that he doth not pretend to be fully satisfied himself; and for my Part, I must say, that I see nothing like a Satisfaction in all that which is alledged by his Authors: For not to mention the rest of Dr. Pearson's Reasons, (which are not sufficiently confuted by the Answers and Retortions given unto them,) that which he draws from the Words of the 2 *Epistle*, Chap. 4. v. 6, 7. doth plainly prove that the writing of it cannot reasonably be applied to any other Period of Time but that which did immediately preceed his Martyrdom. Where we have the Apostle asserting the Time of his Dissolution to be immediately approaching, so that he had now finished his Christian Course, and that too positively, to be applied to a mere Guess or Probability from the Danger he was in. And for any Man to say that the Apostle was deceived herein (merely to support an Opinion, which having no Reason to support it, is against the Generality both of the Ancients, and latter Interpreters, is certainly a very unreasonable Piece of Presumption. Neither is Dr. Hammond's Plea much better, who (for the Support of his own uncouth Scheme) doth alter our received Translation: For, (beside what may be said more against this his Endeavour) the Greek Word τετελέχεια will not bear any other Sense, but what doth tend to the finishing, Consummation or perfecting of the Thing in Hand. So that as the Answer of those learned Men (mentioned by Witsius) do not enervate Dr. Pearson's Reasons, so their Authority is not at all to be regarded in that Particular; seeing the Papists, who are mentioned, were Persons bigotted for the Court of Rome, and strongly bent to centre all Ecclesiastick Authority in the Pope; and all of them together are of no Weight to be laid in the Ballance with the Consent of the Ancients, and Multitude of later Interpreters, which he confesseth to be on the other Side.

But you tell me further, That when Paul wrote his first *Epistle* to Timothy, he was a very young Man, according to 1 Tim. 4. 12. Let no Man despise thy Youth. But if it was written after Paul's Liberation from his first Imprisonment at Rome Timothy behoved to be well advanced in Years; nay Timothy we find, was still but a young Man, when the 2 *Epistle* was written to him, as appears from 2 Tim. 2. 22. Flee youthful Lusts. *Ans.* This Objection seems not to be very consistent with the former; but however seeing it wants not some apparent

Difficulty in it, it is to be considered that the Word *νεότης*, or *Youth*, admits a greater Latitude than in our ordinary speech we confine it unto. *Cicero* tells of himself that he was but *Adolescentulus*, a very Youth, when he pleads *Roscius's* Cause; and yet *A. Gellius* proves him to have been at that Time no less than 27 Years of Age. *Polybius Histor. Lib. 1. pag. 11. Edit. 8.* calls *Hiero νεός*, a young Man, whom yet *Casaubon* (in *Exercitat. ad Baron. Apparat. N. 99. pag. 154.*) proves to have been 35 Years of Age. And the same Historian speaking of *T. Flaminius* his making War upon *Philip King of Macedon*, calls him *νεός*, because he was not above thirty Years of Age. And *Joseph. Antiquit. Lib. 14. Cap. 3.* calls *Alexander* the Son of *Aristobulus*, *νεώτατος*, a very Youth, at the Time of his Death, although he was then about 30 Years of Age, it being the Custom (as *Casaubon* observes) both of *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, to extend the *νεότης*, or youthful Age, to the fourtieth Year of a Man's life, under which Age *Timothy* might well have been, when *Paul's 2d Epistle* was written to him, and yet there is no doubt but a Man may be in Hazard of youthful Lusts after that Age.

But now in the next Place you tell me, there is one thing which you have not yet touched, viz. I alledge that Prebys, at their first Institution, had no Power to exercise Discipline or inflict Censures without the Concurrence of a Prelate or an Apostle; and for Proof of this (you say) I instance *Paul's* conjunction to the Presbyteries of *Corinth*, for excommunicating the incestuous Person, *1 Cor. 5.* and *2 Cor. 2.* And unto this you answer, That it is a most inconsequential Way of Reasoning that I have in this Matter, you say, the Apostle indeed concurred with the Presbytery of *Corinth* in this important Case; but is a bad Inference here, that the Presbytery could at no time exercise Discipline without his Concurrence, &c. But, Sir, It is plain from the Places mentioned, that those Acts of Discipline which we have recorded concerning the incestuous Person, were performed not only under the Superintendency, but also by virtue of the Authority of the Apostle, for he not only enjoins them to excommunicate him, but also to do it by his Authority: or, Verily (saith he) as absent in Body, but present in Spirit, have judged already as though I were present concerning him that hath done this Deed; In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my Spirit, with the Power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such a one to Satan, &c. And will any Man of Sense say that this is a bare Concurrence with

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the Presbytery, when he commands the Presbytery to do such a Thing, and that by his Authority? We do not indeed deny to the Presbytery a Share of Ecclesiastical Discipline within their own Sphere, and with a due Subordination to their Bishop: But (as I said) it is plain from this Place that the Apostle kept the Supreme Power of Discipline in his own Hand, and so we see that as the Excommunication was performed at the Command and by the Authority of the Apostle, so likewise the Relaxation from it; of which we have the Apostle giving us an Account, 2 Cor. 2. from v. 8. and plainly intimating that it was to be done by his Authority, v. 9. 10. *For this End also (saith he) did I write that ye might know the Proof of you, whether ye would be obedient in all Things. To whom ye forgive any Thing, I forgive also, &c.* Where we see that the Judgment of the Presbytery concerning the excommunicate Person behaved to be ratified and confirmed by the Sentence of the Apostle.

But Secondly, you say, *That very Instance which I adduce doth establish your Cause, and sufficiently confirm the Power and Authority of Presbyters to rule, censure, and excommunicate; for the Apostle does first sharply reprove the Presbytery of Corinth for their Slackness in exercising Discipline against such scandalous Offenders. 1 Cor. 5. 2. And then he requires them by virtue of his immediate Apostolical Authority, to proceed to the highest Censure against that incestuous Man; which (you say) plainly makes against me, and proves what you would be at, viz. That the Presbytery of Corinth had intrinseck Power to pass Sentence of Excommunication, without the Authority or Direction of a Prelate.* Well said, Sir, I confess this is one of the finest Conclusions that ever I saw drawn in my Life, and know not what a Person of your Mettal, (who can draw such Conclusions) may not do. I am sure you may prove *quidlibet ex quolibet*, as well as that the Presbytery of Corinth had an intrinseck Power to excommunicate without the Authority of a Prelate or his Direction, *Because they did excommunicate the incestuous Person, being required thereto by Paul, by virtue of his immediate Apostolical Authority.* But you say, *the Apostle doth first sharply reprove them, for their Slackness in exercising Discipline against such scandalous Offenders.* Very true, and he had good Reason to do so, seeing they had not so much as concerned themselves about, or taken any notice of that horrid Scandal (as appears from v. 2.) whereas they ought carefully to have marked such Person, and laboured to bring him to a condign Censure.

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tho not to excommunicate him themselves, without the
Apostle's Direction and Authority. But you tell us, *This is*
more clear from v. 12. Do not ye judge them i. e. (say you)
have a Right to cognosce finally, to determine and pass Sentence.
And I must say again, That this also is a very bold Conclusi-
on, and the Gloss is far larger than the Text. We are ready
to acknowledge, That the Presbytery of *Corinth* had a Right
to cognosce and to judge their own People, but not finally to
determine or pass Sentence of Excommunication without the
Authority of the Apostle. *And tho that Punishment be said to be*
inflicted by many; yet it is plain that they did not inflict it by
their own simple Authority, but by that of the Apostle, as hath
been shewed before : And whereas we have only two Instan-
ces of Excommunication recorded in the Scriptures of the
New Testament, viz. this *1 Cor. 5.* and that *1 Tim. 2. 20.*
we find that they were both done by the Apostle's Autho-
rity, so that what you say of my Scriptural Arguments, re-
volving upon my self, and dashing my Scriptural Cause in
Pieces, is false ; and upon the contrary they stand firm a-
gainst you, notwithstanding of all your Objections against
them.

And now in the last Place, you challenge me upon my
Promise of yielding the Cause unto you, if you should prove
that ever a mere Presbytery did take upon them the Power
of Ordination ; and I find you do very frankly and confi-
dently undertake to make me guilty of my Promise. But
your Performance is not agreeable : For all that you bring
(worth my noticing) is only those two Places, *Acts xiii. 1, 2,*
and 1 Tim. iv. 14. the last of which I answered in that
Place where I made the Promise, and told you, that the
Hands of the Apostle were with the Hands of the Presbyte-
ry, *2 Tim. i. 6.* But you say that the laying on of the A-
postle's Hands, *2 Tim. i. 6.* is only to be understood of con-
ferring the Gift of the Holy Ghost, and not of Ordination ;
which is a most groundless and unwarrantable Assertion ;
for the Expression being the same in both Places, must either
be understood of Ordination in both, or in none of them,
seeing there is nothing in the Context to determine it o-
therwise. And as to that other Instance which you give
Acts xiii. 1, 2, 3. as it was no proper Ordination, but the
separating of those Persons for a particular Work, unto
which the Holy Ghost had called them, (seeing as *St. Paul*
tells us, he received not his Apostleship of Men or by Men,
but immediatly from GOD, *Gal. 1. 1.*) so it was not done
by mere Presbyters as you confess.

And

And now seeing I have thus fixed the Schism upon you and proved your Presbyterian Pretences to the Government of the Church to be nothing else but the Dreams and Delusions of factious Spirits, I conclude with the same Exhortation wherewith I concluded my Answer to your *Parochial Bishop's* Letter, intreating you may be pleased again seriously to consider it. And I pray earnestly that GOD would be pleased to open your Eyes, and let you see not only what is your Guilt in renting asunder the mystick Body of Jesus Christ by your groundless Schism, but also how much you have acted, and do still act, contrary to the true Interests of the Protestant Religion, for which you pretend so great a Zeal. Farewell.

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*The Address of the Presbyterian
Ministers to K. James VII.*

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The KING's Most Excellent Majesty,

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ADDRESS

O F T H E

Presbyterian Ministers of His Majesty's Kingdom of Scotland.

WE your Majesties most loyal Subjects, the Ministers of the Presbyterian Perswasion in your ancient Kingdom of Scotland, from the due Sense which we have of your Majesty's gracious and surprising Favour in not only putting a Stop to our long sad Sufferings for Nonconformity, but granting the Liberty of the publick and peaceable Exercise of our Ministerial Function without any Hazard. As we bless the great GOD who hath put this into your Heart, we do withall find ourselves bound in Duty to offer our most humble and hearty Thanks to your sacred Majesty, the Favour bestowed being to us, and the People of our Perswasion, valuable above all our earthly Comforts; especially since we have Ground from your Majesty to believe, that our Loyalty is not to be questioned upon the Account of our being Presbyterians: Who as we have amidst all our former

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over Temptations endeavoured, so we are firmly resolved still to preserve an intire Loyalty in our Doctrine and Practice, (consonant to our known Principles, which, according to the holy Scriptures, are contained in the Confession of Faith, generally owned by Presbyterians in all your Majesty's Dominions;) and by the Help of G O D, so to demean our selves, as your Majesty may find Cause rather to enlarge than to diminish your Favour towards us; thoroughly perswading our selves from your Majesty's Justice and Goodness, that if we shall be at any Time otherwise represented, your Majesty will not give Credit to such Information, until you have due Cognition thereof. And humbly beseeching that those who promote any disloyal Principles or Practices (as we disown them) may be lookt upon as none of ours, whatsoever Name they assume to themselves. May it please your Most Excellent Majesty, graciously to accept of this our most humble Adress, as proceeding from the Plainness and Sincerity of loyal and thankful Hearts, which are engaged by your Royal Favour to continue our fervent Prayers to the King of Kings for Divine Illumination and Conduct, with all other Blessings Spiritual and Temporal ever to attend your Royal Person and Government; which is the greatest Duty can be rendered to your Majesty by,

Your Majesty's

Edinb. 21.
July, 1687.

Most Humble,

Most Faithful,

And most Obedient Subjects.